THE SURVEY

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The Gist of It

IN broad strokes, W. E. D. WARD draws a picture of Bombay—not the Bombay of Kipling's India, but the Bombay which is the gateway where the East meets the West, where industry enters India, where the melting pot has a new human reproduction. Just as in our swift growing American cities the immigrants of a dozen nationalities were fused, so here old caste lines and people of a score of back country localities are brought together under the lure of modern factory production. It is a stage where both the turmoil and the hope of India are at play. For five years Mr. Ward has been secretary of the social welfare department of the Y.M.C.A. in Bombay. During recent months he has been lecturing in this country, and is now in England on his way back to the scene of his work, which he so vividly sets forth. Page 373.

WITHOUT suggesting any unfortunate implication, one might call S. K. RATCLIFFE a two-faced interpreter of British and American affairs, giving to American audiences and readers a picture of what goes on in the realm of British, and in turn taking back to his own countrymen an understanding of their outland cousins through his writing for The New Statesman and other periodicals. His remarks on the momentous Simon Report on India (page 379) are taken from a longer discussion of that document published in England by The New Statesman in pamphlet form (Price one shilling, 10 Great Queen St., Kingsway, London, W. C., 2) within forty-eight hours of the release of the final section of the blue book itself, and there selling immediately "like hot-cakes or ice-cream cones." Mr. Ratcliffe was formerly editor of The Statesman in Calcutta and knows India from personal experience as well as through his long study of international affairs. This summary, made primarily for his own countrymen, will be of special interest to all who are watching the crisis in the East.

THROUGH the courtesy of the American Journal of Psychiatry we publish on page 381 the substance of the annual address of the American Psychiatric Association, given at the eighty-sixth meeting in Washington in May, at a joint session with the First International Congress on Mental Hygiene. In accord with the Association's usual policy, the speaker chosen for this occasion, HORNELL HART, acting director of the department of social economy of Bryn Mawr College, was drawn from without the ranks of professional psychiatrists, and his topic—Family Life and Fulfilment of Personality, ranged beyond merely technical considerations to questions in which none of us lack interest. Professor Hart's article is the first of a series which Survey Graphic will publish during the autumn and early winter in cooperation with the First International Congress on Mental Hygiene, bringing out the most widely interesting offerings of that notable occasion in the fields of family life and sex, education, religion, public health and the like.

LAST fall Survey Graphic published three articles by MISS ADDAMS—advance instalments from her forthcoming book which will crystallize the experiences entering into her Second Twenty Years at Hull-House. Some Aspects of the Woman's Movement (page 384) is the first of a second series of three articles by Miss Addams, further advance instalments. Here she draws on her participation not only in the organized front of women in the United States, but throughout the world, and those international gatherings of women, whether in Europe or in Asia, to which she has contributed so signally in vision and statescraft. Miss Addams' next article in the September Survey Graphic will deal with Education and the Current Event, a luminous discussion of one phase of what might be called spontaneous adult education. The wood-cut by Morris Topchevsky is one of some twenty by Hull-House artists which made a small volume for the Fortieth Anniversary Celebration.

MABEL C. PHILLIPS, who tells on page 388 of Russia's winning struggle against sanitary illiteracy, started an adventurous career in social work in New York, Philadelphia, and Plainfield, N. J., then ranged far afield for two years as head of the Wellesley Unit with the Near East Relief in Constantinople; four years as assistant director of American Women's Hospitals in Russia; three years as treasurer and assistant director of the American Women's Hospitals in Greece; and topped it off last year with a trip around the world.

THAT prison outbreaks are not spontaneous and inexplicable but the result of conditions which are known and might be generally understood is the basis of the forecast suggested on page 399 by WINTHROP D. LANE, formerly an associate editor of Survey Graphic, a student of penal problems through many years, and now secretary of the Advisory Committee on Penal Institutions, Probation and Parole of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement.

VISITORS to India tell us that the photographs of Gandhi fail to give an adequate idea of the impress which he makes upon all those who come in contact with him. Something of his spiritual force is caught in the linoleum cut by DR. P. G. WINGFIELD on our cover. We are indebted for it to The Blaze, published by students of Antioch College; and to Ernest Morgan of the Antioch Bookplate Company. Dr. Wingfield is himself a member of the Antioch faculty, engaged in the original line of research into child development carried on under the Fels Fund.

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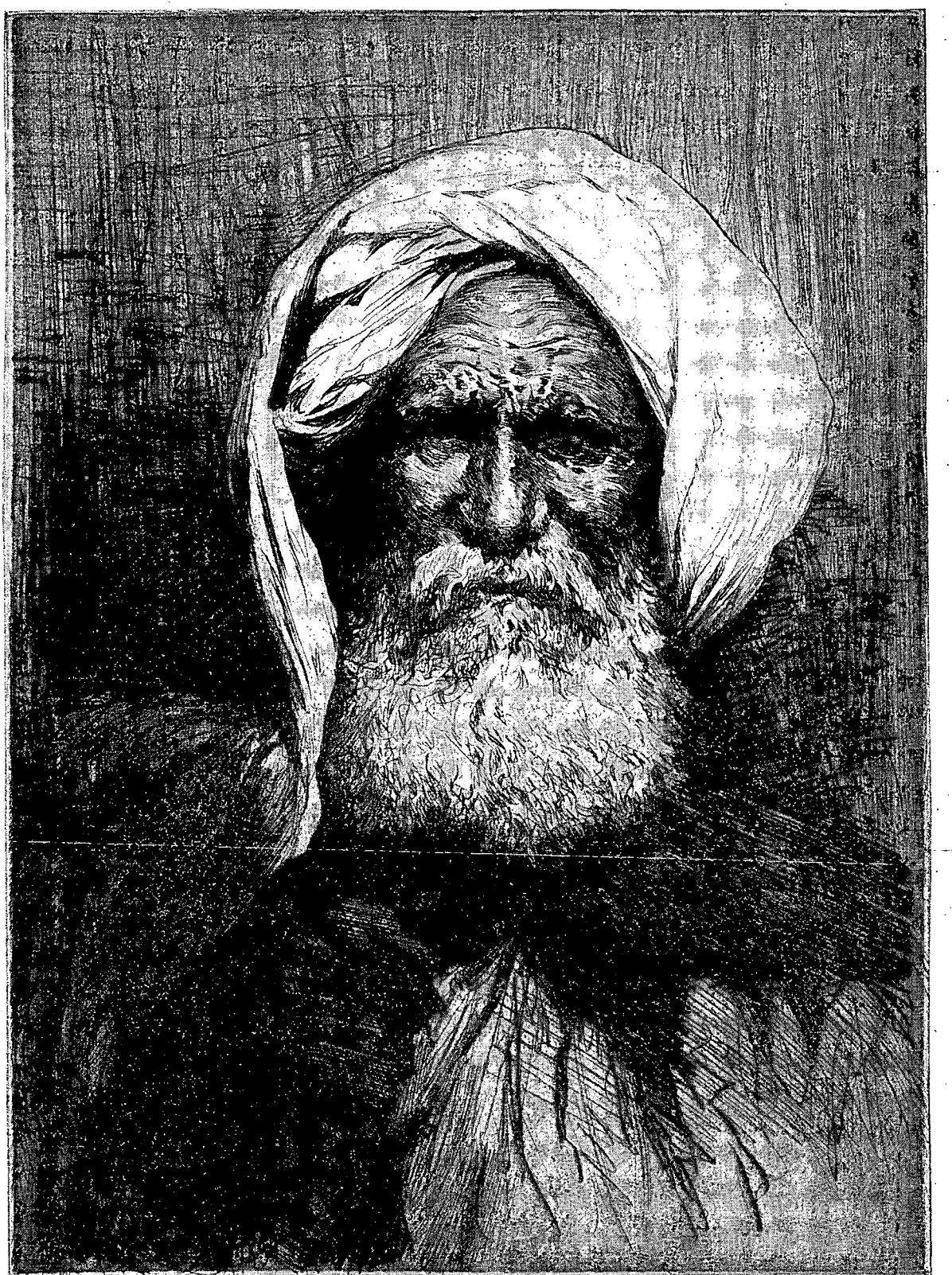

Courtesy Kleeman-Thorman Galleries, New York

LAND WORKER

Etching by William Spencer Bagdatopoulos

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THE SURVEY

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BOMBAY

Melting Pot of Modern India

By W. E. D. WARD

MARO! Maro! (Strike! Strike!) A familiar cry in India, in these days of riots and rebellions—industrial and social as well as political. But to my mind comes the memory not of bloodshed and broken heads but of a game of cage-ball in the mill area of Bombay. In the midst of the sordid one-room tenements —*chawls* as they are called—working-men of all castes and creeds forget their differences in the excitement of a well-organized game. As they strike the ball back and forth across the net, shouting and laughing, they are lifted out of their prejudices to a healthy attitude towards all about them.

"Gandhi *ki jai!* Gandhi *ki jai!*" has been echoing through all the highways and byways of India these days. A revolution in her ways, her thoughts, her ideals, her desires is bringing about conflicts of all sorts. Bombay, like Detroit a city of well over a million, attracts to its industrial life people from all over India and has been more deeply stirred by modern currents than any other place in India. Its strategic position as The Gateway of India makes it a suitable laboratory for the experiment of adapting modern ways to an ancient civilization. A city of contrasts, with its millionaires and its ghastly beggars, its modern university and its illiterate masses, its palaces and hovels, its Rolls Royces and its bullock carts, its radio and its snake charmers, its churches, mosques and temples, its "necklace" of electric lights on its harbor front at night and its narrow, filthy lanes by day, Bombay is picturesque, significant beyond its size and power.

The hordes of tourists, hungry for the mystical charms of India, are usually brought on landing in Bombay, to Malabar Hill where this bustling Eastern metropolis can be seen laid out before them. Smokestacks here and there reveal the scores of cotton mills for which the city is famous. But little do these visitors imagine the life of these coolies who toil ten hours a day in the factories, the railways and the workshops or in the congested bazars. It was my privilege to get closely acquainted with this mass of humanity during the past five years through the slow and painstaking process of instituting a bit of social service for them.

In 1928 news came from America to us in Bombay that at New Bedford, Massachusetts, a strike had begun among the 30,000 operatives of the cotton mills. It lasted six months and from time to time we heard of bitter fighting, police action, and much excitement. During the same six months in Bombay we found ourselves in the midst of a similar strike. One hundred fifty thousand workers in the cotton mills there refused to agree to a reduction of wages. Fortunately, most of them went upcountry to their villages and helped on the farms—a very common occurrence even under ordinary conditions. Those forced to remain, lived with their relatives who were working on railways and in workshops, sharing their food and shelter. There was no disorder and little excitement, except at the beginning when large numbers undertook to board trains and steamers at the same time. Then police were called to prevent rushing the ticket gates. The quiet, determined way in which the strikers fought out the issue with the mill owners made one admire their courage and caused one to reflect on the simplicity of life which enabled them to exist on next to nothing.

AT this trying time at one of the centers in the mill area, maintained by the Y.M.C.A., a group of men forming an *akhada* or gymnasium were not coming regularly to exercise. Their reply to inquiries was revealing and pathetic. They said in effect: "We have little if any food to eat. To wrestle or exercise makes us eat more. Therefore to make ends meet we must give up exercise." The exercise, they had found, would keep them fit in the squalid insanitary tenements in which they lived and helped lift the burden of depression caused by the strike; but necessity is a hard taskmaster and they had to give up the recreation they needed so much.

Most of these mill workers are from the outcastes of India, so-called "untouchables." For centuries in the villages of

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A meeting of lower caste mills hands in a Bombay Y.M.C.A. hut

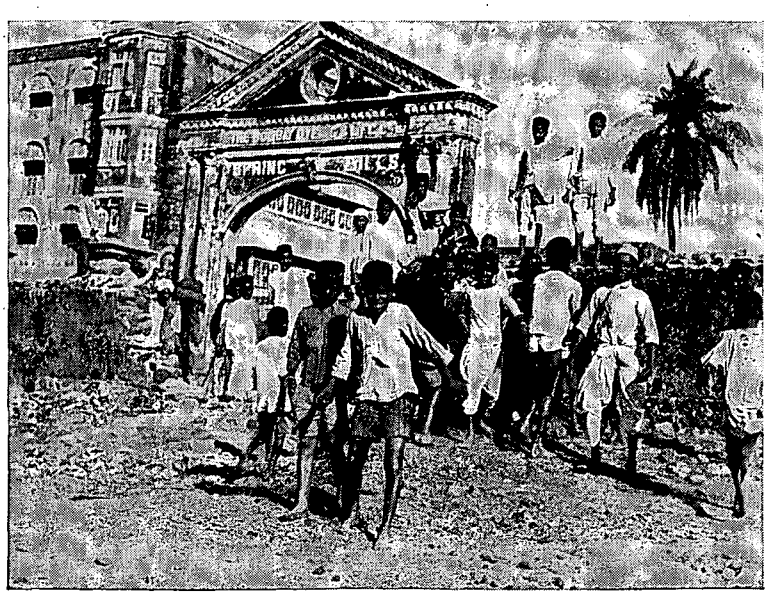
India the untouchables, now numbering 60,000,000 out of a total of 320,000,000 in all India, have suffered disabilities that have not been imposed on cattle by the higher castes. In extreme cases the very shadow of the untouchable falling on the higher caste has been regarded as polluting. Denied access to temples and schools, to the village well, to the common privileges of the village, they have at last awakened to a new day and are demanding decent treatment. One plank of Mahatma Gandhi's political platform for independent India is the removal of untouchability. Though this is opposed still by the orthodox, scarcely a thoughtful man in India today defends untouchability; but the customs of centuries cannot be brushed aside quickly.

One of the discoveries the untouchables have made is that by going to an industrial city like Bombay they can find work in the mills and live in a modern city, enjoying the privileges of water, conveyance, housing, recreation that other castes enjoy. But they bring with them their low standards of life, content to live in hovels or, if in well-made tenements, to transform them into insanitary dwellings. Crowded into dirty one-room tenements called *chawls,* in the north end of Bombay, the conditions of living produce terrifying results. The census of 1921 revealed that out of every 1000 children born in the one-room tenements of Bombay, 800 died before they were a year old. Steps taken by the authorities when this was made known, have reduced the rate, but even now over half of the babies of these working-people die before they reach their first birthday.

I once made inquiries of them as to why they crowd into the rooms as they do. I was visiting a laborers' camp in which the rooms were provided free, and found that on one side of the road the workers were packed into the huts till it seemed as if two or three families were trying to live in a room 10 by 16 feet. Across the way was another row also free of charge, but empty. So I asked why they preferred the crowded quarters. It was "because their friends lived there." You can understand this if you remember that not only are these workers poor and illiterate but they are villagers totally unaccustomed to the big city with its bustle and noise, its high buildings, its toll of disease and death and crime. Many a villager has gone from upcountry to the city and has never been heard of again.

Efforts have been made to provide suitable housing for the mill workers of Bombay. The government had a program of 50,000 one-room tenements for this purpose. Designed to be erected in cement blocks of 80 rooms to a *chawl,* as inexpensive as possible, with a minimum of conveniences, they have been far from a success. Though the monthly rent was reduced to one third of its cost, there remain still today in Bombay many of these government *chawls* unoccupied—80 out of 120 in one section. (The present monthly rent per room for the most part is Rs. 5/—or $1.67.) The original program of building provided far more than was required, but more especially the type of tenement and location in the outskirts of the city with no transport available, made them unacceptable. Moreover to many of these simple folk from the country, four-story buildings were dazzling in height and to most of them to live among strangers in a wicked city merely tempted Providence. Only by securing the rental of a whole block for one group of workers or employes in one workshop, arranged by the employer persuading or forcing the workers to live there, were many of these government *chawls* occupied.

Drink, opium, immorality are demoralizing these people. The ratio of men and women in Bombay is 66 and 34. There is a red-light district, tolerated though not officially recognized. The worker on pay day having settled his monthly accounts with the grain dealer and the money lender, frequents the drink shop as the quickest way out of his misery. The government has taken steps to control the liquor made in India by steadily decreasing the amount rationed, but unfortunately it appears that imported foreign liquor is steadily increasing. This brings added revenue to the government and at the same time intensifies the degradation of the Indian people. No wonder another plank of Mr. Gandhi's political platform is prohibition of intoxicants. If India had Home Rule, he claims,



Bombay slum youngsters with whom the Y.M.C.A. is working

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drinking would be abolished even if it means the destruction of palm trees from which liquor can be made at home. Already in his campaign against the present government of India, he has put foremost the picketing of liquor shops and destruction at the source of intoxicating liquors.

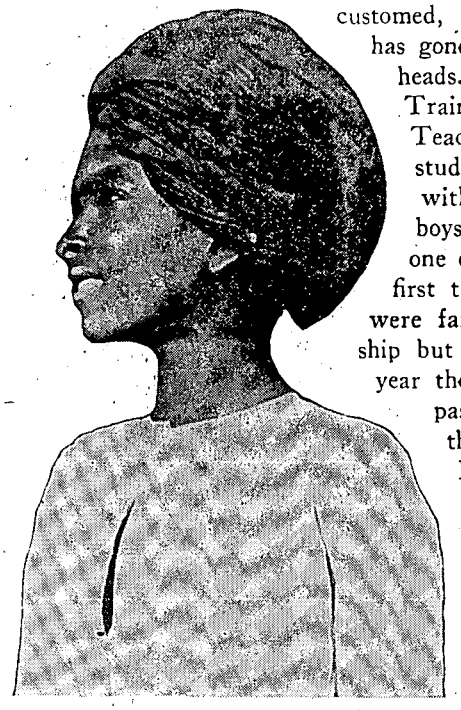
Opium, too, has been a curse to the mill workers. Many times I have seen tiny babies, with wizened heads, legs and arms, fed daily on opium pills. The unfortunate mothers, obliged to work in the mills and unable to endure the thought of the babies crying at home alone, have given them opium pills to keep them quiet. No wonder the death-rate is high. Steps have been taken by the government to control the situation, especially after the facts were made public by Indian Legislative Assembly. Dr. S. K. Datta, at that time a member of the Assembly and national secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in India, was the leader in this agitation.

At present the Indian government is planning a cotton tariff to enable the Indian mills to compete with foreign mills. Imperial preference is being sought for Lancashire goods. In the present temper of the Indian people one wonders if they will agree to this favor to Lancashire. The mill owners in Bombay have been much disturbed by their inability to meet competition in the cotton industry. Japanese manufacturers have been able to buy their cotton in India, spin and weave it in Japan, bring it back to Bombay and sell it cheaper than the Bombay mills can make it. The upcountry mills, too, have found advantages in a more contented labor force, closer contact with cotton supplies and market, and cheaper wages. The Bombay mill owner is naturally inclined to blame the inefficiency of his labor. The laborer retaliates by pointing out weaknesses in the management. Neither understands nor sympathizes with the other, personal relations are distinct, attitudes towards life are so divergent; it takes little to bring about a breach.

True it is that the turnover of labor in Bombay is tremendous, some say nearly 100 per cent. Absenteeism in the mills is regularly 12 per cent. The worker goes upcountry with practically no notice to his employer. Illness, bad news from home, getting "fed-up" with conditions in Bombay send men upcountry frequently. Regularly at harvest time many men go back to their farms to attend to the crops. It is not difficult to travel cheaply by train in India for those who have patience. A man boards the train without a ticket. If the conductor finds him and puts him off the train, he simply boards the next one and repeats the performance till he arrives at his destination, though it may take days to do it.

The captain of the basketball team fixes up his ball in a Bombay slum Y.M.C.A. playground

But untouchables are not a hopeless lot. In fact, I believe those who come to the city in a spirit of adventure or seeking rather blindly for better things than they get in the village, are more ambitious to get ahead than many of the higher castes. Denied privileges to which others are accustomed, their new freedom has gone like wine to their heads. In a Government Training College for Teachers in Bombay the students experimented with a class of Brahmin boys (highest caste) and one of untouchables. At first the young Brahmins were far ahead in scholarship but at the end of the year the outcaste boys surpassed them. One of the members of the Bombay Legislative Council is Dr. Ambedkar, who secured his Ph.D. from Cornell, a member of the untouchable caste. A talented leader, he is guiding the development of his people in Bombay and vicinity, editing a paper for them, representing them in various ways, endeavoring with all his power to stimulate them to high purposes and to secure for them recognition in temples, politics and public affairs.



Various social agencies in the city of Bombay are making some effort to provide for these mill workers the guidance and opportunities necessary for a wholesome life. Having lost the restrictions and standards formerly their guide for conduct—personal and public—these village folk are floundering about ready to accept any leadership that offers. Too many times it is that of some mischief-maker. Many of the recent strikes and riots in Bombay have gotten out of the control of the sane leaders because some one wildly promising an immediate and drastic improvement in their conditions has caught the fancy of these unstable masses. The trade unions under the splendid leadership of N. M. Joshi and R. R. Bakhale of the Servants of India Society, have sought hard to keep these workers in the narrow path of steady advancement but have not always prevailed over unscrupulous leaders.

There are over seven hundred social service agencies in Bombay. Many of them are insignificant, simply attempts on the part of a caste or religion to care for certain unfortunates of its own, others are doing valuable work. But then all indicate a tremendous social interest among the better class in Bombay for those less fortunate. The Social Ser-

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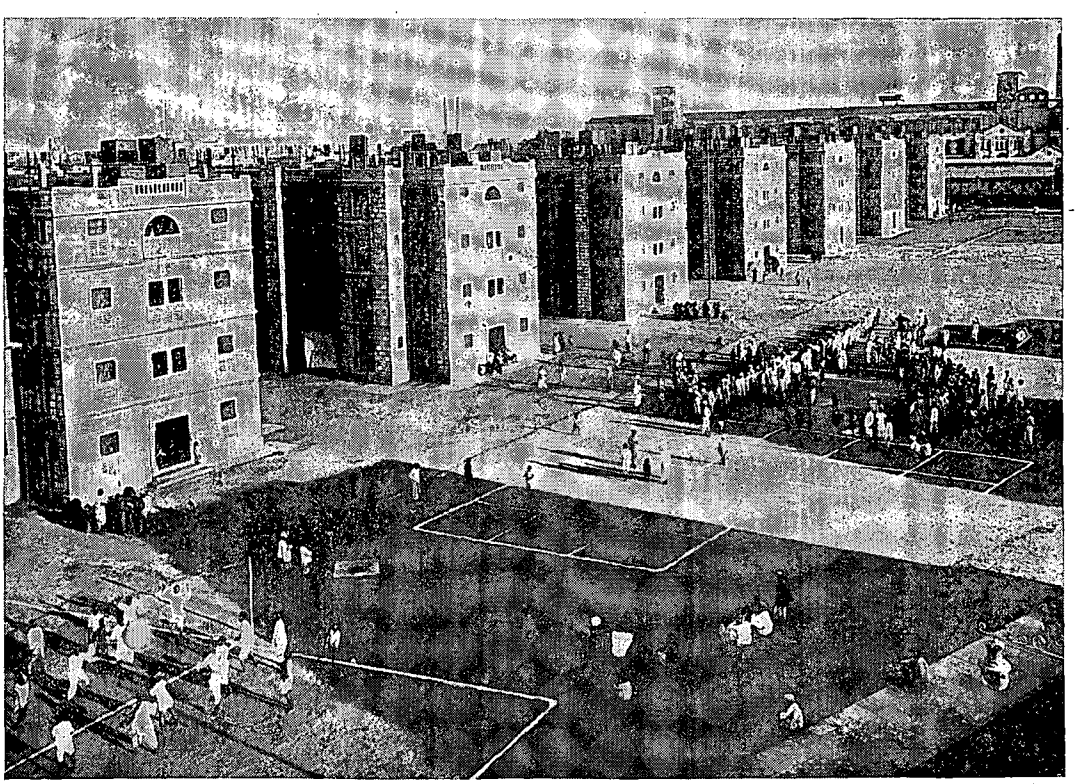
To Western eyes the horned victrola looks like something from the junk heap, but it is the instrument for a musicale to these women and children in the slums of Bombay



Hive-like "chawls" (tenements) against a background of factory smokestacks, and in the foreground industrial workers playing Western games on the Y. M. C. A. courts—Bombay is a "laboratory for the experiment of adapting modern ways to an ancient civilization." These games have been found to be a solvent for the workers' differences of caste, language, religion, and custom, which otherwise might create hopeless social barriers

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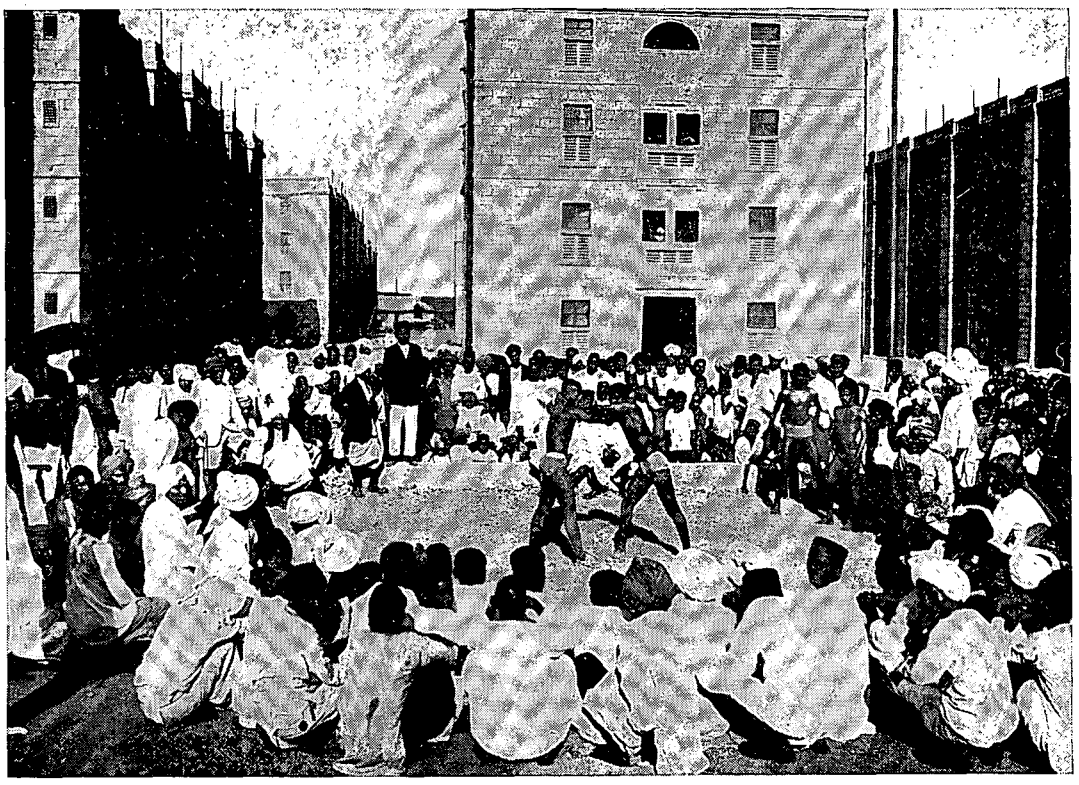

A group of "untouchables" gathered around wrestlers in Bombay slums. Sports are becoming a definite factor in their new life

The "boss" presiding at a prize-giving at a gathering of railway coolies in Bombay. The Y. M. C. A. makes an effort to bring about such friendly contacts, for the usual management-labor friction is increased by caste differences: "Neither understands nor sympathizes with the other, personal relations are distant, attitudes towards life are so divergent; it takes little to bring about a breach." But these conditions are slowly changing

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vice League, the *Seva Sadan* (Home of Service—a women's organization), the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. are all prominent. The Nagpada Neighborhood House and two or three other organizations are working along the lines of social settlements. A Social Training School for Women, the only one of its kind in India, is also a promising and valued bit of social work. In fact in Bombay the prominence and number of Indian ladies taking active part in social service is most encouraging The program of social service is very much the same as anywhere else in the world. Play has been found a solvent of the deep differences among mill workers caused by their many castes, languages, religions, customs and habits but even this activity has to be supervised carefully. At one of the Bombay Y. M. C. A. centers the worker in charge got a mixed group of Mohammedans and Hindus to play together in volley ball, a game new to most of them. They played with enthusiasm and skill after a little practice. Then the worker went away to attend to other things and left a volunteer in charge, who had the idea of dividing the players, Hindus on one side and Mohammedans on the other. When the worker came back to see how the game was going, he was just in time to stop a free fight: the strain on their ancient prejudices was too much. But, properly guided play is a great means of promoting cordial and friendly relations.

HEALTH propaganda among these tenement people is very much needed for lack of sanitation and understanding of causes of disease is a great handicap to their efficiency as workers and as citizens. Malaria is the common plague of Bombay and we felt we must try to bring home to the tenement people the fact that the mosquitos breeding around them were the cause of much of their misery. We got hold of an American moving-picture film that gave a scientific account of the cause, prevention and cure of malaria. It showed the mosquito magnified many times, the screened doors and windows so common in America and the pouring of oil on the water to kill the larvae. A free movie always brings a crowd in the slums of Bombay, so we had a thousand men, women and children eager to see the pictures. They could not read the titles so a doctor explained very carefully and simply to the audience the various points. Everything in the movies is very real to these simple people. Afterwards, I heard one man say to another: "Well, if the mosquitoes in America are as large as that, no wonder they screen the windows!" The film was shown three times before they finally grasped the idea that the mosquito as they know it is the trouble-maker. We also demonstrated, with the aid of the city health department, how to keep their dwellings sanitary. Groups of twenty at a time—men, women and children—were taken through an exhibit held in the Y. M. C. A. hut and every point explained to them by qualified sanitary inspectors and assistants.

BOY SCOUTING is very popular. Because many Scouts have few clothes, if any, we often call them the "Skin Troop." Drama is a favorite recreation. On evenings when they are not to work the next day they will sit from eight until two or three o'clock the next morning watching a drama given by a group of amateurs from their own ranks. Night school is hard for men who have worked ten hours in the mills, but many come night after night trying to learn how to read and write their own vernacular. Occasionally we can get the employer to preside at a prize-giving after a day's sports among his workers, providing a happy occasion for the workers to see their boss in a good frame of mind.

One of the greatest triumphs in social work in Bombay is to get the high caste people to render some service to these untouchables. And in such a city where caste is fast disappearing, young people from refined homes can often be induced to take part. For our Y. M. C. A. social service centers in Bombay we secured and trained a score of young men, all Indians—some studying all day in school or college, some working in the offices or mills of the city—to carry on in the evening a program of play, school, scouting, and other recreation. These young men are now shouldering these responsibilities in a most earnest and skillful way. They are eager to do something for these people whom some years ago they would not have touched. Even girls from wealthy prominent homes are induced to make an effort to get close to the underprivileged. Then, too, it is interesting to find how readily and liberally prominent citizens, the B. B. C. of Railway Co., the Part Trust, and the city government have given financial support to such an enterprise in spite of the hard times due to long depression in trade.

The great Indian leader, Mahatma Gandhi, views the conditions of the industrial population with horror. It intensifies his desire for Home Rule that India may escape the domination of western materialism and seek a solution of its own problems largely in its own way, and his spinning-wheel program is offered as one way out. It typifies the cottage industry, the use of leisure time of farmers, an attempt to stem the tide sweeping poor people to the city.

MR. GANDHI has been seeking to keep the political struggle on a high moral level. In a sense he has already accomplished his purpose. He has set the example of self-sacrifice, of insistence on high ideals, of unshaken faith in lofty purposes. Though he seems to have been discredited for the time being by the failure of the masses to follow his policy of non-violence, yet his influence will, I believe, persist and be an inspiration among millions of his fellow-countrymen to seek to serve each other with a view to making India great as well as free. The present political situation in India is, of course, a part of the social upheaval that characterizes the whole of Asia these days. Remedies for many evils in the social system in India have a large place in the political developments sought for by Mr. Gandhi and by others not in his political party. The resentment towards Europeans and Americans has already increased considerably. But this feeling is more directed at the system of control than at individuals. Mr. Gandhi himself has refused to let his gospel be turned against individual persons but rather against what he calls the "Satanic" government. Yet mobs will not distinguish, and many innocent Europeans and Americans, however sympathetic with Indian ideals and aspirations, will doubtless suffer in the next few years in the struggle for political progress.

The industrial strife will no doubt last much longer than the political but, in Mr. Gandhi's mind, the question of independence must be settled before these deeper social conflicts can be dealt with adequately. The support of unselfish and able Indian leaders in the reconstruction of Indian society by influential people and organizations outside India will be a great help. Men like Dr. Datta in the question of opium and K. T. Paul in rural (*Continued on page* 415)

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India Without Gandhi

By S. K. RATCLIFFE

IF any one thing is certain in the relations between Britain and India, it is that the year 1930 will be known as the year of the Simon Report. This historic document, as all the world now knows, is the work of a special commission consisting of two peers and five members of the House of Commons. The Report itself is a portent of destiny. Whether it is or is not to be made the basis of a new constructive policy, its publication must do one momentous thing. It will mark for India the end of an age. It draws a line between the British India we have known and the India of an incalculable future.

During the past ten years, ever since a certain series of events—part hopeful, and part deeply disturbing—which occurred immediately after the War, the affairs of India have been seen to possess a constantly growing importance. The reasons are mainly three:

1. The whole enormous problem of the relations between East and West, and particularly the problem of European power in the East, is now recognized as a matter of urgent world concern;

2. India is the theater of a movement of insurgent nationalism which, after passing through many phases, has come under the direction of a unique leader—M. K. Gandhi—admired on this side and attacked on that, as the most extraordinary man in Asia;

3. Britain has solemnly committed herself to a policy of advance towards responsible self-government in India, a policy for which no parallel can be found in any other imperial system known to history.

The Simon Report is the direct outcome of this deliberate British policy, the definite beginnings of which go back just twenty years.

The labor of the Simon Commission has occupied nearly three years. It involved two long visits to India, the taking of a huge mass of evidence, and the covering of many thousands of miles. The commission had been at work for nearly two years and was engaged in England upon the preparation of its Report, when, in the autumn of 1929, the Viceroy took leave in England for the purpose of conferring with the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State upon matters of moment connected with his office. Lord Irwin returned to India in October, and on November 1, 1929, he made an announcement reaffirming the pledge of responsible self-government. His Excellency then, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, stated that "in their judgment it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of Indian constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status."

The Report of the Simon Commission appeared in two portions and was accorded in the press an amount of publicity hardly approached by any blue-book on record. The Commissioners say, at the outset:

> First of all, we have endeavored to bring before those whose duty it is to provide for India's constitutional future a realization of the facts of the situation, those stubborn facts which no amount of rhetoric or appeal to abstract principles can alter. The immense area and population of India, the diversities of race, creed, and caste, the existence of the Indian States, the predominance in numbers of the rural population, the high percentage of illiteracy, and the standing menace of the North-West Frontier, are all facts which no person, British or Indian, who has to deal with the constitutional problem of India can possibly ignore.
>
> These facts must be faced. Their existence cannot in any way be allowed to invalidate the solemn pledge of the British people with regard to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India.

The Report is the most weighty reminder our generation has had of the greatness and complexity of the problem now confronting the British democracy.

In the concluding paragraph of Part I the following most significant sentences appear:

> We should say without hesitation that, in all its variations of expression and intensity, the political sentiment which is most widespread among all educated Indians is the expression of a demand for equality with Europeans and a resentment against any suspicion of differential treatment. The attitude an Indian takes up on any given matter is largely governed by consideration of his self-respect. It is a great deal more than a personal feeling; it is the claim of the East for due recognition of status. . . . While the member of a minority community, putting the safety of his community first, will stipulate for safeguards; and while the moderate may look askance at extremist methods which he will not openly denounce, *all alike are in sympathy with the demand for equal status with the European and proclaim their belief in self-determination for India.* . . .
>
> In our view, the most formidable of the evils from which India is suffering have their roots in social and economic customs of long standing, which can only be remedied by the action of the Indian people themselves. They are much less likely to be remedied if the blame for their continuance can be put, however unreasonably, on others.

LET us see how in Part II, the main and governing portion of the Report, the Commission responds to the challenge of its own statement. Part II is an exceedingly close statement and argument, most able and interesting of all, perhaps, in its survey of the prospects of a federated India.

The Commissioners develop an elaborate argument for an All-India Federation, with the central Government becoming "an association of units formed mainly for the purpose of performing certain functions on behalf of all." They urge in this connection the need of making full provision for "the maintenance and efficiency of the fundamentals of government." These include the safe holding of the gateway of the North-West; and the maintenance of the Army in full strength and full security, not only for external defence, but for the purpose of upholding internal order. "Nowhere in the world is there such frequent need for courageous and prompt action as in India, and nowhere is the penalty for hesitation and weakness greater."

No section of the Report is of greater moment than that devoted to the supreme authority, hitherto known as the Governor-General in Council. The Commissioners, after formulating their proposals for the new provincial legislatures and for the Federal Assembly, approach the crucial problem of the Central Government. They pronounce, without qualification, for the maintenance of the full powers of the Viceroy, and to those powers they would add the right to choose his own Cabinet, the Executive Council. Any division of authority, any weakening of British supremacy

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at the center, they hold to be inadmissible. They say: "We lay down without hesitation the proposition that dyarchy at the Center, or any system of divided responsibility resembling dyarchy, is quite impossible. Unity in the central executive must be preserved at all costs."

Their principal recommendations are:

The new constitution should "contain within itself provision for its own development."

It is a "paramount necessity" that, while India is on the road to complete self-government, there should be full provision for "the maintenance and efficiency of the fundamentals of government."

The ultimate constitution of India must be Federal. A council for Greater India should be created, with, say, one-third of the members representative of Indian States included.

Home rule in the provinces; each province "mistress in her own house." A unitary cabinet responsible to the legislature. Abolition of dyarchy. The provincial government to have full control of administration, including law and order. The provincial councils increased in size to 200 or 250; members to have a term of five years. The communal electorates, for the protection of minorities, to be retained. The franchise broadened to include about 10 per cent of the inhabitants, or 20 per cent of the adult population.

The Governor to have large over-riding powers: in particular, for preserving the safety and tranquility of the province and to prevent serious prejudice to any section of the community.

The N.W. Frontier: representative institutions for the frontier province, with unified control of the tribal area of the border.

The immediate separation of Burma.

A federal assembly in place of the existing Legislative Assembly; a membership of 250 to 280, with a fixed life of five years. Abolition of direct election. Members to be elected by the provincial councils, by a system of proportional representation.

No division of authority in the Central Government. The Viceroy to nominate his Executive Council (the Cabinet), instead of, as now, the appointments being nominally made by the Crown.

The defense of India is not a matter of purely Indian concern. It will be impossible, "at least for a very long time to come," for the Army to "dispense with a very considerable British element." The control of the Army to be transferred from the Government of India to imperial authority.

In their general conclusion the Commissioners say:

In writing this Report we have made no allusion to the events of the last few months in India. In fact, the whole of our principal recommendations were arrived at and unanimously agreed upon before these events occurred. We have not altered a line of our report on that account, for it is necessary to look beyond particular incidents and to take a longer view.

Nothing in either volume, we may be sure, will be read in India with so much surprise as this. It so happens that the time during which the Simon Commission was engaged in its task coincided with the outbreak of an intensive form of that movement of Indian Nationalism to which the Commissioners make several markedly understanding references. This is the development that has aroused the eager curiosity of the world at large, that has created for the Government of India a practical problem of unparalleled difficulty, and —within the past twelve months, devoted by the Commission to the writing of its report—has transformed the entire outlook in India.

In 1928 the Indian nationalist parties, led by the most prominent Swarajists, set out towards a formulation of the demand for full self-government (*Puran Swaraj*) on the basis of dominion status within the Empire. In December, 1928, the Indian National Congress (long the most important nationalist organization) carried a resolution to the effect that, if dominion status were not conceded by the last day of 1929, the Congress would recommend the resumption of "mass civil disobedience"—that is, the weapon of boycott and defiance of law adopted by Mr. Gandhi in the No-Cooperation crusade of 1920-22. This resolution was supported by Mr. Gandhi, and, notwithstanding several noteworthy events of 1929, including the Viceroy's declaration of November 1, the Mahatma resolved to carry out the threat. In December he himself moved, in the National Congress at Lahore, the fateful resolution which abandoned the way of conciliation, and declared for the "independence" of India and for mass civil disobedience, without violence. On March 12 he began the march, from Ahmedabad to the Arabian Sea, which opened the campaign of organized disobedience, beginning with the raids on the salt depots. On May 5 Mr. Gandhi was apprehended and interned, after many of his followers had been arrested, tried, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The events of these six months, which have been accompanied by menacing upheavals in many cities and immense public excitement in several provinces, have an important bearing upon the question of India's attitude towards the Commissioners' proposals. The report is, in essentials, a review of India without Gandhi.

INDIA is in a state of grave disturbance; the political parties and their leaders are in a deeply resentful mood. No more unpromising condition for the reception of a great new constitutional project could be imagined. Can we hope, at this early date, to make a fairly accurate forecast of Indian views on the report?

Mr. Gandhi, the Nehrus, the Swarajists generally are irreconcilable. It must be recognized that there is nothing in the recommendations to modify their absolute hostility. The Moslems and the smaller communities will welcome the strong safeguards for minorities, while it is to be assumed that the Indian commercial and propertied classes will accept the Commission's provincial scheme as embodying a long step towards responsible government.

The question of most immediate concern is the attitude of the Liberals, the moderate Nationalists, the large body of politically conscious Indians who, as the Commissioners put it in a passage quoted above, proclaim their belief in self-determination. The minds of all these have been caught by the magic of the term dominion status, which has never been defined by any Indian statesman or group. They will note, with special emphasis, that the dominion solution is not discussed in the report. Sir John Simon and his colleagues did not associate themselves with Lord Irwin's November declaration; and they do not refer to it.

Short of the dominion solution, however, there is the question, which for years past has been treated as of the first importance in India, of responsible government, or some measure of it, at the center. The Commissioners are against that. They declare, with impressive emphasis, for the upholding of the Viceroy's supreme position, the maintenance of British authority, unimpaired, at Delhi and Simla.

The hopes of all who believe in the paramount necessity of peace and reconstruction in India, of a settlement by consent preliminary to a new charter of responsible government, are now fixed, and must continue to be fixed, upon the plan of an open Round Table Conference in the autumn of 1930. Therefore, the dominant question of the moment is: How and in what degree will the Simon Report contribute to the holding of that Conference?

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Fulfilment in Family Life

By HORNELL HART

OUR American mores are built upon Puritanism, but our revolutionary Declaration of Independence declared its allegiance to the cult of freedom. Arising in France, the slogan of liberty had spread throughout our civilization in rebellion against all dogma, whether Catholic, Puritan, philosophical, political or economic. The true spirit of the Victorian epoch was not embodied in the rigid moral codes inherited from the Puritans. Rather it was the spirit of *laissez-faire,* of individualism, and of scepticism.

In intellectual fields this movement of rebellion has definitely passed its zenith. It is being replaced rapidly by the constructive and openminded spirit of science. But in family relations the demand for liberty is still rising toward high tide. Parents debate the question whether children should ever be punished, or even be required to do anything against their free choice. Children do not debate the problem—they take their independence for granted.

Yet, despite the widespread vogue of liberty, increasing numbers of thoughtful observers are pointing out that mere elimination of restraints is failing to produce fulfilment of personality. The child turned wholly loose by his parents so often grows an intolerable pest, disliked and avoided by others and miserable himself, that many modern parents are searching and experimenting toward sounder solutions. We must seek beyond mere release if we would learn how family life may achieve fulfilment of personality for its members.

What are we after? What do we mean by "fulfilment of personality?" Let us disavow, frankly and emphatically, some of the old conceptions. Morality for its own sake has no claim upon us. Orderliness, obedience, conformity, chastity, and monogamy are valid social ideals only if they promote deeper and more vital values; only if they serve to bring personalities into blossom; only if they call out to the full the possibilities of the self; only if they make for rich, intense, growing, creative experience. Morality must be a means, not an end; richness of personality its foundation.

This ideal requires first of all that the parent, the teacher, and the social worker shall gain insight into the possibilities of each child. Is Bob, who tinkers defiantly with the automobile, really a potential engineer, inventor, or mechanic? Or is his alleged interest in the car merely a mechanism to escape drudgery? Is Gladys, who so hates algebra, cut out really to be a cook and housewife? Are the bitter wranglings between Fred and Mabel symptoms of a strong interest in each other which might, under wise encouragement, turn into a memorable friendship?

But insight is only half achieved if one fails to learn how to use it. Fulfilment of personality requires that the fullest possibilities of the child shall be aroused, set free, aided positively to realization, and woven into a harmonious fabric.

Children are usually unaware of their own best possibilities. How is the child to discover that he would like being an architect, or that producing puppet shows is fascinating, or that mathematics is one of the great keys to intellectual power, or that becoming a parent can be a source of life's richest experience? Mere freedom leaves such discoveries to accident. As a result the potential architect is apt to sell bonds or deliver groceries, the potential puppet showman spends his time shooting craps, the potential engineer fails in his examinations because he was too absorbed in figuring batting averages, and the potential parent may be sidetracked by some emotional accident into homosexuality, or may get tangled up in the process of parenthood and never discover its rich possibilities. Wise stimulation, helping the individual to discover new interests, letting him experience the dynamic effects of suffering natural consequences, bringing to his aid the insight gained from scientific tests of his capacities—these are prime obligations of parents and teachers.

Frequently the healthy aspirations and strivings of the child are thwarted. Often the blockage is due to the stubborn insistence of the parent on purposes inconsistent with those of the child—upon perfect quiet and orderliness at home, upon gratifying vicariously through the child some parental emotional need, or the like. Rigid curriculums and obsolete college entrance requirements provide other obstacles. Absolute freedom does not in itself provide an adequate program for fulfilment of personality, but no adequate program can be built except on foundations of freedom.

Nor will mere removal of obstacles suffice; there must be positive provision of the tools, the equipment, and the opportunities needed for the realization of potentialities.

ALL of these three achievements will be bootless if the individual is left with purposes which are in conflict with himself, or in conflict with society. Crude as the Puritan ideal of parenthood now seems to us, it had the great merit of seeking for the adjustment of purposes with personal and social standards. But true integration cannot be reached through coercion. Instead of pressures to *force* good behavior, the child needs more often to be aided in winning its own understanding of the problems it confronts. He chooses wisely, not because he fears punishment, but because he has discovered inherent reasons for courtesy, system, and self-discipline, and because of deserved loyalty and respect for an understanding counsellor.

Ideals such as these fit readily with the best current conceptions of child rearing. But do we dare to apply them in the field of sex behavior? Suppose that Jane insists upon extensive and intensive petting parties. Suppose that Fred proclaims his intentions of discovering all about sex by the experimental method. Suppose that a husband insists upon "emotional vacations" from his wife, or a wife from her husband. Do we dare to bring to such situations the criterion of fulfilment of personality?

Yes, provided that sexual functioning is woven creatively into the fulfilment of the whole personality; provided that integration, both personal and social, is achieved. The question before us, as psychiatrists, as social workers, and as students of mental hygiene, is "How can we aid people to establish in their own lives those patterns of sexual behavior which will bring to them and to their associates the fullest and richest experience?"

The answer to this question is one of the most urgent needs of our civilization today. There is plenty of discussion of the problem, but in the clamor two sets of advocates who speak the loudest are both disqualified because their thinking

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on the subject is patently wishful instead of scientific. The first group is made up of the people who are dogmatically committed to the establishment of puritanical monogamy. Equally biased are the recommendations of another group of agitators who, themselves rebelling against sexual restraints, offer rationalizations of their own cravings, without daring or being able to examine dispassionately the results of the behavior which they advocate. As social scientists, we must seek not to prove a case but to find the truth, whatever it is.

Monogamy probably became more pervasive in nineteenth century America than it had ever been before in the history of human marriage. Not among primitive peoples, not in ancient patriarchal civilizations, not in medieval chivalry and not in modern Europe has the insistence upon exclusive sexual relations with one partner for life been more widely avowed; nor in any of those periods have violations of the monogamistic code been fewer. Puritanism has sought to compel monogamy by threats of hell-fire, stringent legislation, physical punishment of sex deviations in children, ostracism of women sex offenders, and other forms of violence.

During the past few decades, however, the cult of freedom has made immense inroads in sex relations. Proof of this fact is hard to obtain, but evidence from a wide variety of sources points overwhelmingly toward the turn in the tide from monogamy toward more promiscuous relationships. But does "this freedom" work? The testimony of writers who have themselves been leaders in the movement for sexual liberty seems emphatic: the rebellion is failing in proportion as it succeeds. Mere freedom is bitterly disappointing as a road to richness of life. Disillusionment, not fulfilment of personality, is the typical outcome of the mere casting off of repressions and taboos.

STUDY of concrete instances suggests that five groups of causes are responsible for the wreckage produced by the modern sex revolt: physical disaster; conflicts between mores; conflicts between cravings for adventurous variety and for permanence, security, and growth; loss of integrity; and the destructive effects of unintegrated impulse.

Science has developed methods which, if applied systematically, coolly, intelligently, and without any lapses or accidents, may usually be relied upon to prevent the physical dangers of promiscuity. But sexual adventures are not carried out coolly, intelligently, and with complete self-control. The number of unintended babies in the families of professional men and women, the number of abortions and illegitimate births among college and business women, and the number of intelligent and otherwise normal individuals who seek treatment for venereal disease, indicate the incompleteness of our mastery of the merely physical aspects of sex.

Less obvious but no less important as a cause of disaster is the conflict within the individual from clashes between puritanical and libertine sex codes. A young woman has been brought up from childhood in a strongly religious atmosphere. The people whom she loves regard with abhorrence the slightest lapse from sex conventionality. If this girl enters on illicit sex relations she is certain to suffer excruciating feelings of guilt and abasement because of the inconsistency between her sexual lapse and her fundamental personality.

The emotional result of such cross-currents in living ideals is apt to be extremely serious. One may retire into one's self and become shy and recessive. One may adopt a cynical attitude toward the other sex and fail to achieve normal marriage. One may compensate by pathological penances. One may "rationalize" by adopting an irrational philosophy. One may rush headlong into excesses in a blind attempt to justify the first break. Disintegration of professional, social and family relations and of personality is likely to result. Nor do those who maintain puritan standards always escape this conflict. In certain circles the girl who refuses to pet has been made to feel the pressure of social disapproval and inferiority as keenly as she who in other instances follows unconventional ways.

Telling testimony as to the torturing mental conflict resulting from attempts to attain freedom comes even from one of the outstanding advocates of greater sexual liberty. Dora (Mrs. Bertrand) Russell testifies:

> Even those who repudiate the Christian synthesis and imagine themselves free of all prejudice, are a mass of tormenting inhibitions, doubts, and inconsistencies when they approach sex. Their imaginations remain filled with false notions of restraint and refinement; they break free and alternate between coarseness and self-pitying disgust.

The remedy offered by Mrs. Russell and by other advocates of less trammelled sex life is that the individual reeducate himself with respect to sexual mores. They urge ridding one's self of inhibitions, throwing off taboos, and gaining independence. A considerable number of genuinely conscientious young people feel called to become missionaries of this liberty—to educate others into the unleashed life of sex. But in actual practice this program encounters difficulties.

What one's friends, children, employers and clients regard as admirable, beautiful and splendid, or vile, outrageous and intolerable, effects inescapably the fulfilment or the wrecking of one's own personality. The wife of the sexual adventurer, in an average social environment, feels constantly on the verge of an abysm of disaster. Will her husband become infatuated with some other woman and abandon her and the children? Will her sons and daughters discover that their father has committed acts which they have learned to regard as treacherous and hideous? Will the resulting wound in their personalities interfere with their own life fulfilment? Will a scandal deprive the husband of his position and the children of support? Will a venereal disease be brought into the home? The woman living under the strains of such menaces—whether imagined or real—becomes moody, irritable, and suspicious. She fears to make women friends lest her husband make love to them. She shrinks from social life with him lest it collapse around them in disaster. She imagines gossip, and sinks under the sense of her own failure to hold a supreme place in her husband's life. If the husband is monogamous and the wife an adventuress, the suffering will be much the same.

Fulfilment of personality must be attained, not under ideal conditions, but in life as it actually is. Puritanism, in various degrees of modification, is widely prevalent in our civilization. In spite of the increase in radical ideas, the great majority of Americans cherish strong beliefs in monogamy, in chastity, in loyalty to one's mate, and in the beauty of single-hearted love. They hold intense aversions to promiscuity, to betrayal and to hypocrisy. Such attitudes can no more be neglected in formulating programs for mental hygiene than can the condition of the water supply in formulating programs for public health. Whatever one's opinion as to the ultimate soundness or unsoundness of monogamistic mores, they are a fact in Euro-American culture.

The third great cause of failures in attempts to break away from monogamy is the conflict between the desire of normal

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personalities for the thrill of adventurous experience and the need for retaining and building up into a permanent and growing structure the personal relations through which one has found emotional satisfactions. Both the need for a permanent mate and for variety are inherent in the fundamental nature of human personality. The man or woman who engages in promiscuous relations risks the loss of the deep and growing devotion between man and wife and parents and children which fills one of the greatest needs of the human spirit. Sex radicals find that they cannot escape the craving for permanence and growth in love relations. To discover and develop the rich possibilities of the partnership between a man, a woman, and their children, is an undertaking which requires a lifetime of devotion, and which yields an experience of deep values not to be attained in any other way.

Facing frankly the physical and socio-psychological dangers just discussed, it is possible for pioneering youth to say: "Nevertheless, Puritanism is intolerable. Freedom must be the goal of the future; we will be trailbreakers even though we suffer martyrdom for it." If such a revolution should succeed, our civilization might win and assimilate more radical sex mores through a long period of psychological and social disintegration. But even if these were attained they would solve only the conflict in culture and leave still the deeper problem inherent in the nature of human personality.

A YEAR ago a play called "Gypsy" was a Broadway success. It depicted a group of young people who had long since tossed aside the shackles of Puritanism. Mrs. Grundy was not only dead, but unremembered. The heroine was a high-spirited girl who kept falling in love with successive men. Her loves led to tragedy, not because of any sense of violated taboos or clashing cultures, but because both she and her lovers needed so desperately to achieve a permanent love relationship, on which they could build lasting values of comradeship and joint achievement. That play was not fantasy; it typified the sex problem lying beyond moral freedom—the problem which is inescapable as long as we remain human.

The preceding three causes of disaster bring in their train the fourth. In our civilization as it is, unconventional sex behavior cannot be practiced frankly. The man or woman who engages in illicit relations is practically forced to construct a fabric of lies. His insincerity and the knowledge that at any time this false structure may collapse and bring his life crashing down about him brings mental conflict. The discovery of his falsehoods destroys that confidence on which creative social relations depend.

It is impossible to keep higher values vivid when one is swept by sex passion, unless supported by a deeply rooted code. Thousands of idealistic sex experimenters avow a code of their own—the crucial importance of reverence for those involved in their adventures. But illicit sex affairs refuse to be conducted calmly and with steady loyalty to the deepest values of one's own personality and of one's mate. Resolutions melt away. Rationalizations becloud one's vision. The gambling impulse breaks down caution. One awakes to a dismayed recognition that one is inconsistent, unstable, self-betraying and a menace to one's comrades.

Where, then, shall one find that firmly grounded code of conduct which will stay steady under the pressure of passion? Dogmatic religion may provide a prop for a rapidly diminishing fraction of the population, but the day of such magical aids to morality is rapidly passing. A deeply spiritual religious faith, consistent with science, will provide moral reinforcement for increasing numbers. Others will remain inertly supported by the uncriticized conventions of the group of which they are a part. But we must seek a creative and positive solution for the men and women who are building the future, and for the sufferers who have been crushed in the clash between cultures or between deep-seated needs. Toward such a solution we may lay down as principles:

The spirit of science affords a far sounder and more permanent support for a valid code of sex than the superstitious dread of dogma. Character must be built on foundations not subject to upheaval in the moods of the individual. The findings of dispassionate research into sex problems can give the honest seeker a basis for action which stands independent of his personal fluctuations. But the science which is to serve this purpose must not be disguised propaganda. It must not be wishful. It must face fearlessly all sides of the questions involved. The psychiatrists, the students of mental hygiene and the social workers who are daily confronting the unvarnished facts of sex adjustment and maladjustment are under a deep obligation to build up the structure of scientific guidance. Youth needs to know, accurately and impartially, what is the outcome of various sorts of sex behavior under various conditions. The old dogmatic morality gave to the individual who accepted it power to meet the temptations which sweep away resolutions not based on deep foundations. But if we face reality fearlessly, in all its deepest aspects, we shall find a new dynamic which will give us power to win through to the rich life of love at its best.

Toward the honest explorer in sex matters our attitude must be one, not of enmity, but of sympathy, interest, and readiness to stand as friend and counsellor. The vital code which makes character cannot be imposed from outside; it must be worked out by each individual. Personal experimentation is a costly method of discovering the truth. The psychiatric advisor needs to cultivate the means of letting youth learn vicariously, through the mishaps of others.

Voluntary self-discipline—the acceptance of a code because it makes for fulfilment of personality for all concerned—must take the place of social coercion and of anarchistic self-abandonment.

The rich possibilities of voluntary monogamy need to be studied in terms of actual instances. To discover the deep values of sexual partnership is a life-time undertaking. To regard relations between man and wife as predominantly consisting in physical union is to be guilty of a naive and outworn materialism. The possibilities of the mutual stimulation and reinforcement of husband, wife and children in close and growing partnership are among the most lovely of the ranges of experience which men and women may explore.

The thrill, adventure, and creative stimulus of friendships between men and women when the element of physical sex is held under voluntary self-discipline make the allure of primarily physical exploration seem crude and curtailed. Even for the inveterate sex adventurer, the vivid memories of beauty are of the times when spirit met spirit.

It is perhaps no accident that Euro-American civilization—the most monogamistic of history—has been the one to rise highest and most swiftly in technology, in science, in education, in political organization, in social legislation, and in music. Emotional energies unconfined leave peoples flaccid. Arbitrarily confined they burst out with explosive energy. But when directed willingly and intelligently they may provide the motive power to carry human culture and human happiness to the new high levels of the future.

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Aspects of the Woman's Movement

By JANE ADDAMS

THERE are certain days which remain in our memories in the light of *species eternitatas,* days which seem to break through into the reality which lies beneath the outward seeming. I spent such a day on the Danube in the summer of 1913, with delegates to the International Suffrage Alliance, meeting that year in Buda-Pest. These women from many nations, sitting upon the deck of the river steamer, felt that curious stimulus which comes from the discovery of likemindedness between people of varied cultures, for there is something of the same interest in discovering the underlying likenesses as there is in the patriotic cherishing of distinctive national traits. Not a breath, not a tremor of the future, ruffled the polished surface of the Danube on that summer day. There was no haunting apprehension that these bordering states within a year's time would be firing the opening shots of the most terrible war recorded in history. Did the day acquire its curious significance later? Did the glamor come in retrospect after we had realized that the end of this peaceful scene had been so near? Was it etched upon our memories as the aspect of a friend whom we have seen for the last time becomes unforgettable, not less, but more impressive if we do not know that death is coming so soon?

The stories of the river told by our hostesses increased in romantic content as we approached the beautiful old cities of Buda and Pest. Their tales extolled the Hungarian prowess which through the years of the Turkish wars had saved Europe from Asiatic control. Such wars seemed as the Crusades or the Conquest of Alexander, fit subjects for poetic recital. It was the poetry of a past grown tranquil because it was apart from life. The heroes belonged to other centuries, not our own. We did not anticipate the rough measures and poignant reproach with which contemporary poets would deal with war, nor could we then understand that it is "only the living poets who express a feeling that is actually being made and torn out of us at the moment. We do not recognize it as poetry in the first place; too often, for some reason, we fear it."

That convention in the summer of 1913, in the old Hungarian capital, was the first I had attended of the International Suffrage Alliance, although for several years I had served as vice-president of the National American Women's Suffrage Association when Dr. Anna Shaw was its brilliant president. I recall her vivid personality in many striking situations, but one in Buda-Pest remains most clearly in my mind. The old city on the Danube had long been a stronghold of Calvinism, with the result that one of the most beautiful churches belonged to the Presbyterians. It had been decided that Dr. Shaw was to give the "Congress sermon" there, but when the day arrived there was great difficulty as to a woman occupying the pulpit. The matter was finally arranged by placing a platform, with a reading desk upon it, in what had been at one time the junction of the transept and the nave of the stately old church, while the audience was seated around the platform in four different directions. In scholastic cap and gown, she stood on her raised dais and with the eloquence of which she had been past master since her early days as a pioneer Methodist preacher, she filled the vast arches with a valiant plea for the rights of women based on the old historic pleas for the rights of the individual, so dear to Calvin's heart.

The status of equal suffrage reported at the Congress by the delegates from twenty-six parliamentary nations not only gave a world-wide view of the movement, but strikingly presented various evolutionary stages. The very earliest stage was doubtless represented by the women of Asia, who were making the first struggle against their traditional barriers and customs rooted in primitive times. The resolution, therefore, admitting the Chinese Woman's Suffrage Society to the International Alliance, was carried with tremendous applause. None of the Chinese women were present, although they sent their greetings upon a beautiful banner which bore the words: "Helping each other. All of one mind." The convention was told that certain Chinese women had been decapitated for the truths they told while fighting their battle for freedom, and that at any day the men might find a reason to silence the leaders of the movement when, in their enthusiasm, they made too many converts. Be that as it may, in spite of the somber implications of the report, the entire convention agreed with the thrilling words of Mrs. Catt, the International President, that even as we review "the slow tragic struggle upward of the women of the west, we know that there is no escape for these eastern women, that they must follow the vision in their souls as we have done and as other women have done before us." It was the northern women who more than any others represented the final stage of the movement. Three members of parliament sat in the fine delegation from Finland and public servants were also found in the imposing delegation from Sweden and Norway. A most encouraging report came from Turkey where, in spite of eastern customs, the new constitution had given women a political status, due to that tendency of each revolution to incorporate into its program the most advanced features of existing governments.

THE final impression of the convention at Buda-Pest was that the movement for equal suffrage was growing, pushing and developing in all the countries upon the face of the earth, that the coming together of its representatives was no perfunctory matter, but the free exchange of new experiences and untrammeled hopes. The movement was everywhere surprisingly spontaneous, manifesting itself in widely separated groups within the same nation; sometimes it was sectarian and dogmatic, at others philosophic and grandiloquent; it was both amorphous and sporadic, or carefully organized and consciously directed, but it was always vital and constantly becoming more widespread.

Here in the United States our efforts for social reform continued to move forward during the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the World War in 1914; but as I look back at this pre-war period of "social engineering"

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to use a phrase which was then new—I am, however, surprised to find how much time was given by various social workers to securing the franchise for women because the movement seemed perfectly germane to the main issue. These efforts at social engineering, which were municipal, state, national, and international in scope, were often illustrated by huge exhibits, one on child welfare, in Chicago, filling the Coliseum with throngs of visitors for a fortnight. The energy fluctuated, of course, but the movement pushed on almost as if it were suspected that all efforts for social progress would not only be suddenly interrupted by a world war but that the revolutions following the war, especially the one in Russia, would so terrorize good men and women throughout the world that the mildest of propositions looking toward social change of any sort still in some quarters suggests Bolshevism. Quite as the French revolution, in its time, had held up all reform measures for two decades, even in the English parliament, because the very word liberalism connoted the guillotine.

THROUGH all my experiences in the woman's movement and in the stirring conventions held every year, there remained in my mind certain stories of simple women who could not do otherwise than make an effort for the franchise because they needed it so bitterly. There was a sanction quite outside of the organized movement. In the suffrage campaign during which I had spoken in five of the western states I had come away with a tremendous admiration for western women. I recall an outdoor meeting on the steps of a county building in a Kansas town. A man in the crowd ventured one of the cheap jibes to which women suffragists had been so long subjected. An old lady who had come from Wisconsin to help in the campaign suddenly mounted the seat of the automobile in which she was sitting and begged leave to reply to him. To our surprise she evidently knew his name and the very county in Kansas from which he came. She told of her experiences in Kansas fifty years earlier when she had campaigned there to secure the school vote for women, and had then known the speaker's mother, who was living in a remote part of the new state. This pioneer mother had borne six children without medical attendance or the ministrations of any woman, and had buried two without the benefit of clergy. She had been eager for the school vote because she wanted a school for her growing family, and in the midst of her cares had worked hard in the campaign. The simple tale of courageous living and high thinking was unfolded before her son and ended with the question directed to him: "Who can better vote on the needs of this state of yours or on the needs of this great country of ours than a woman like that?" He had of course no reply, and sheepishly disappeared in the crowd.

I HAD seen the vivid interest among the Italian women of our neighborhood in their insistence upon a bond issue for a contagious disease hospital, their excitement over the demand that more attendants be provided for the lake bathing beaches to which their adventurous young sons repaired every hot night. Was there an instinctive wisdom behind their high-handed demand that political action should concern itself with genuine human needs? How necessary to human existence, to its very survival, the occupations of primitive women had been. From a journey to Egypt made in 1913 I had carried away an unforgettable impression of the unremitting efforts of countless women to water parched fields that their children might be fed. The stately Egyptian women constantly carrying water from the Nile was an epitome of the endless labor of mothers to keep their children alive—that unchanging demand of the race life. I recall an evening at Luxor, when my friend and I sat on the wall outside the city just at the moment the women in their tiny mud huts below were lighting the fires that they might cook the chief meal of the day. We knew that the primitive clay houses were lifted high above the level of the fields because they rested on the ruins of villages which had crumbled there from time immemorial. We also came to realize with a sudden pang that the mothers feeding their children under these smoking roofs were clutched by the old fear that there was not enough for each to have his portion, and that the simple scene before us with all its implication was but part of that unceasing struggle carried on by hard pressed women all over the world.

Perhaps these memories of Egypt afforded the background for the visit of the Devil Baby to Hull-House,[1] the very year of the Buda-Pest convention; at any rate the experience made a lasting impression upon my mind of the stored wisdom in the traditional experiences of peasant women. The knowledge of his reputed existence had burst upon the residents of Hull-House one day when three Italian women with an excited rush through the door demanded that he be shown to them. No amount of denial convinced them that he was not there, for they knew exactly what he was like with his cloven hoofs, his pointed ears and diminutive tail; the Devil Baby had, moreover, been able to speak as soon as he was born and was most shockingly profane.

THE three women were but the forerunners of a veritable multitude; for six weeks from every part of the city and suburbs the streams of visitors to this mythical baby poured in all day long and so far into the night that the regular activities of the settlement were almost swamped. The Italian version, with a hundred variations, dealt with a pious Italian girl married to an atheist. Her husband in a rage had torn a holy picture from the bedroom wall, saying that he would quite as soon have a devil in the house as such a thing, whereupon the devil incarnated himself in her coming child. As soon as the Devil Baby was born, he ran about the table, shaking his finger in deep reproach at his father, who finally caught him and, in fear and trembling, brought him to Hull-House. When the residents there, in spite of the baby's shocking appearance, wishing to save his soul, took him to church for baptism, they found that the shawl was empty and the Devil Baby, fleeing the holy water, was running lightly over the backs of the pews.

The Jewish version, again with variations, was to the effect that the father of six daughters had said before the birth of a seventh child that he would rather have a devil in the family than another girl, whereupon the Devil Baby promptly appeared. Save for a red automobile which occasionally figured in the story, and a stray cigar which in some versions the new-born child had snatched from his father's lips, the tale might have been fashioned a thousand years ago.

Although the visitors to the Devil Baby included persons of every degree of prosperity and education (even physicians who assured us of their scientific interest), the story con-

[1] I have elaborated this story in connection with another theme in "The Long Road of Women's Memory," Chap. I and II.

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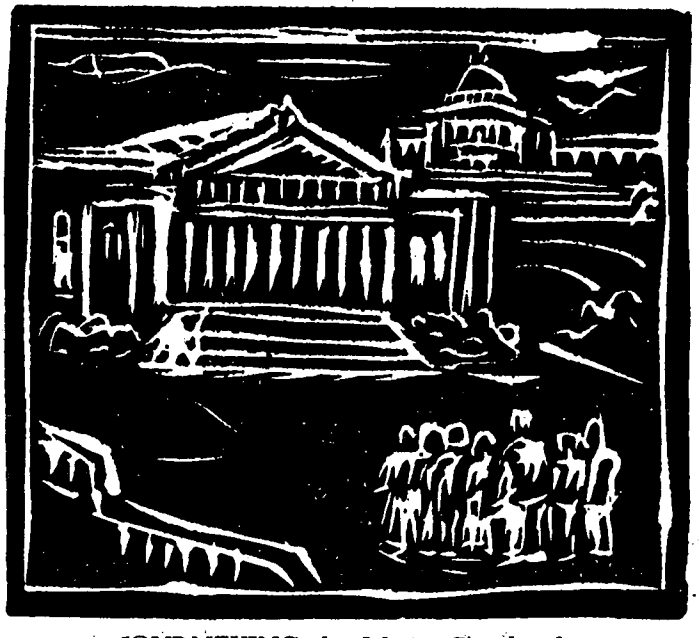
stantly demonstrated the power of an old wives' tale among thousands of men and women in modern society who are living in a corner of their own, their vision fixed, their intelligence held by some iron chain of silent habit. To such primitive people the metaphor apparently is still the very "stuff of life," or rather, no other form of statement reaches them; the tremendous tonnage of current writing for them has no existence. Something in the story or in its mysterious sequences had aroused one of those active forces in human nature which does not take orders but insists only upon giving them. We had abruptly come in contact with a living and self-assertive human quality!

During the weeks of excitement it was the old women who really seemed to have come into their own, and perhaps the most significant result of the incident was the reaction of the story upon them. It stirred their minds and memories as with a magic touch, it loosened their tongues and revealed the inner life and thoughts of those who are so often inarticulate. Their eagerness recalled the theory that woman first fashioned the fairy story, that combination of wisdom and romance, in an effort to tame her mate and to make him a better father to her children, until such stories finally became a crude creed for domestic conduct, softening the treatment men accorded to women. Because such stories, expressing the very essence of human emotion, did not pretend to imitate the outside of life, they were careless of verisimilitude and absolutely indifferent to the real world. As subconscious stuff they still cast vague shadows upon the vast spaces of life, shadows that are dim and distorted because of their distant origin. They remind us that for thousands of years women had nothing to oppose against unthinkable brutality save "the charm of words," no other implement with which to subdue the fiercenesses of the world about them. Only through words could they hope to arouse the generosity of strength, to secure a measure of pity for themselves and their children, to so protect the life they had produced that "the precious vintage stored from their own agony" might not wantonly be spilled upon the ground. Because the Devil Baby had embodied an undeserved wrong to a poor mother whose tender child had been claimed by the forces of evil, his merely reputed presence had power to attract to Hull-House hundreds of women who had been humbled and disgraced by their children; mothers of the feeble-minded, of the vicious, of the criminal, of the prostitute. In their talk it was as if their long role of maternal apology and protective reticence had at last broken down, as if they could speak out freely because for once a man responsible for an ill-begotten child had been "met up with" and had received his deserts, perhaps the story itself, like all interpretative art, was "one of those free, unconscious attempts to satisfy, outside of life, those cravings which life itself leaves unsatisfied." At moments, however, baffled desires, sharp cries of pain, echoes of justices unfulfilled, the original material from which such tales are fashioned, would break through the rigid restraints imposed by all art, even that unconscious of itself. In the midst of the most tragic reminiscences, there remained to these women that which has been called the great revelation of tragedy, or sometimes the great illusion of tragedy; that which has power in its own right to make life palatable and at rare moments even beautiful. Perhaps it was that which makes possible the age-long effort of women to bring the world nearer to their heart's desire—a better world for their children to live in.



JOURNEYING, *by Morris Topchevsky*

The instinctive reaction of simple women to the human factors in a given situation was illustrated for me at the beginning of the second Balkan war, which now seems so remote. About two hundred Greeks who had held a meeting in our gymnasium marched from there to the train on the first lap of their long journey to the seat of war. Only a few hours afterward approximately the same number of Bulgarians from neighboring parts of the city, marched by Hull-House, proud of the fact that they too were starting forth to defend the fatherland from enemies which included the Greeks. A Hull-House neighbor, a shrewd and able woman, remarked to me as the last stalwart form disappeared: "I look at these young men here and at those who marched by this morning. Both sets of them fine upstanding young fellows, that some mother has brought up through the measles and whooping cough and all that, and here they are, going away to kill each other. Why not stand up right here in Halsted street, and pair off as they do in Parliament; and it's the strange thing for me to be recommending the English Parliament as a model for anybody!" she concluded.

I THOUGHT of this incident sometimes when I was in Europe during the first year of the Great War. A young soldier had sent a letter to the Woman's Congress at The Hague in which he asked why women had not made long before, the protest against war which is denied to men: "Ever since I have been in the trenches," he wrote, "I have been wondering what is the matter with the women. They would not be called cowards, and they need not be afraid. Why are they holding back? It is clear why the men are holding back, but why do not women make a statement so many of us are longing for?" That same year, a statesman of another nation and in another language expressed his surprise that women had been silent so long. All the censorships which ingenious minds later evolved did not exist in the beginning of the war, and women came to possess knowledge of the actual state of affairs. Perhaps never before in the history of war had there been such a solidarity among

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women as their organizations had achieved during the last century. Women in response to their new training availed themselves of wider knowledge concerning the relation of war to the civilian population than had ever been possible before.

At the very beginning of the World War I was among the suffragists who had protested against the "throw back" in the scientific sense to the conception of patriotism gradually built up during thousands of years. Europe had had one revolution after another in which women as well as men had taken part, in order that a patriotism might be established guaranteeing with loyalty to the state liberty for the individual to carry on his own vocation and his own conception of the good life. In these genuine democracies, war and revolution were growing obsolete and inadequate, for democracy is a system of life depending upon a system of work which can only be carried forward through times of uninterrupted peace. When war is declared, however, all this is lost; thousands of men march to their death under compulsion of a tribal conception of patriotism. They respond to a basic appeal of self-defense and fight because they have been told they must thus save their homes from destruction. There is undoubtedly a fine primitive spirit which quickly responds to this appeal, but it is unworthy of modern civilization to utilize such instincts at so fearful a cost.

WE were told that in those first months of war, beginning with the mobilization of the troops, there was a sudden rise in the infant death rate because all those measures inaugurated for the protection of infant life were so scattered to the winds by the war that there was barely time to count the babies who were dying throughout the villages and countrysides.

In the history of one nation after another it was the mothers who first protested that their children should no longer be slain as living sacrifices upon the altars of the tribal gods, although the tribal leaders contended that human sacrifice was bound up with all the traditions of religion and patriotism and could not be abolished without destroying both. The women were sensitive to the destruction of human life, and the patriarch who here and there gave heed to the pleading of the mother whose child had been set aside for sacrifice, was the forerunner of those who later declared that national courage and religious zeal were with those who urged the abolition of human sacrifice. There is no record that Sarah protested against the sacrifice of Isaac. Probably she knew nothing about it until the danger was safely past, but certainly Clytemnestra did not tamely accept the contemplated sacrifice of her child, and the fate of Iphigenia disturbed Greece from one end to the other. It took the human race many centuries to rid itself of human sacrifice; during many centuries it relapsed again and again in periods of national despair. So have we fallen back into warfare, and perhaps will fall back again and again, until in self-pity, in self-defense, in self-assertion of the right of life, not as hitherto, a few, but the whole people of the world, will brook this thing no longer.

THE French have a proverb which has always seemed to me very charming: "Men make the roads but it is women who teach children how to walk." It was during a meeting of women from those countries which border upon the Pacific Ocean, held in Honolulu in the summer of 1928, that the truth of this seemed to me absolutely verified. In the first place, women had always had to deal with the nurture of living and growing things. Primitive women became the first food producers in contra-distinction to the activities of men who had been merely food gatherers, and as the most important food plants flourish in climates which permit a relatively long-growing season, the bulk of the world's population is therefore found in the tropics where woman's special contribution to agriculture has been given most lavishly. The Pacific area is nearer to this basic culture of woman's founding than are the occidental countries where the culture taken over from Europe has become so highly mechanized in the lives of women as well as men. Certainly one felt that these women from China, Korea, Japan, Samoa, Fiji, the Philippines, and the Hawaiian Islands themselves, had been less mechanized than those of us who stood nearer to western culture. We have come to regard the advance of western civilization as a sort of game, an effort to make one type of culture predominate, which, if too hardly pushed, may break down other cultures which are older and certainly more basic in their ministration to the needs of the race. We have been accustomed to say with pride that telephone poles may be set up in a jungle, that a wireless operates as easily on sea as on land, without realizing that the West has only installed a fine piece of mechanism, not necessarily European civilization. We forget that every mechanization of life easily tends to belittle religion and philosophy, and that in our absorption in our means for communication we may lose the patterns and customs which give any real value to culture itself.

AS the Congress at Honolulu proceeded, we felt that women—especially those of the Orient—have unique opportunities to stand free from the tyranny of mechanization and to act upon the assumption that civilization is an idea, a method of living, an attitude of respect to all men. A change of method founded upon the genuine facts of human experience, is long over-due. The cultural outlook on life must become as aggressive as the commercial if it hopes to be effective. There is obvious need of bolder arrangements and interactions in the distribution of education and inventions. But changes can only come about if they are carried on with the same spirit of free thinking and outspoken publication that has won in the field of natural science.

There was about this conference a sense of reality, a consciousness of woman's ancient role of food-producer versus the primitive one of food-gatherer of men which restored us, at least to my mind, the confidence which I had lost during the war, that the work of women is nurture and production and must in the end prevail over the mechanistic tendencies of society which make for destruction. One could at least claim that women who dealt with living creatures, as over against industrial machines or commercial abstractions, had the best opportunity to acquire and to retain a direct approach to life itself. And at the present moment women in the oriental countries are making a surprising advance. Although they received the vote in India less than ten years ago, eighty women are now members of city councils, fifty are magistrates, and a Hindu woman is deputy president of the Legislative Council of Madras, a political body representing forty-five million people. A woman is Vice Chancellor of the Mohammedan University at Boopal, and hundreds of them are lawyers, doctors and teachers. In the good old days of suffrage speeches we always quoted the women of Burma as perhaps the freest in the world. They have lived up to expectations. They carry (*Continued on page* 410)

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Russia's Drive Toward Health

By MABEL C. PHILLIPS

Woodcuts by A. Krafchenko

AFTER three years' absence following a residence of four years in Russia, we returned late in 1928 to see what had been accomplished. As doctor and social worker, we had worked in close connection with the Department for the Protection of Motherhood and Childhood from 1921 to 1925. Our work in Armenia and on the Volga steppe had been chiefly with women and children. It was the delightful head of the department, Dr. Vera Lebedeva, we first sought on reaching Moscow upon our return.

"Do you remember," asked Dr. Lebedeva, "how, when you came back to Russia in 1923, the first policy we got together on was: 'The very best Home, with a capital H, is not good enough for a baby'? That has remained the motto of this department. Of course, conditions in Russia were so abnormal at first that a large part of the budget had to go into closed institutions, but even when you left in 1925, the new tendency had begun to show. We had about one hundred and fifty consultations then. Last year we had 2,413,000 mothers leaving their babies in nearly nine hundred day nurseries, and there were over seven hundred consultations for babies and nearly five hundred for mothers."

"The great problem in this department, as in others," Dr. Lebedeva continued, "is the lack of trained workers. Doctors, nurses and workers are being trained in the Institute in Moscow, and women delegates in Soviets all study women's and babies' work."

One of Dr. Vera's chief interests is the education of the women of the minority nations.

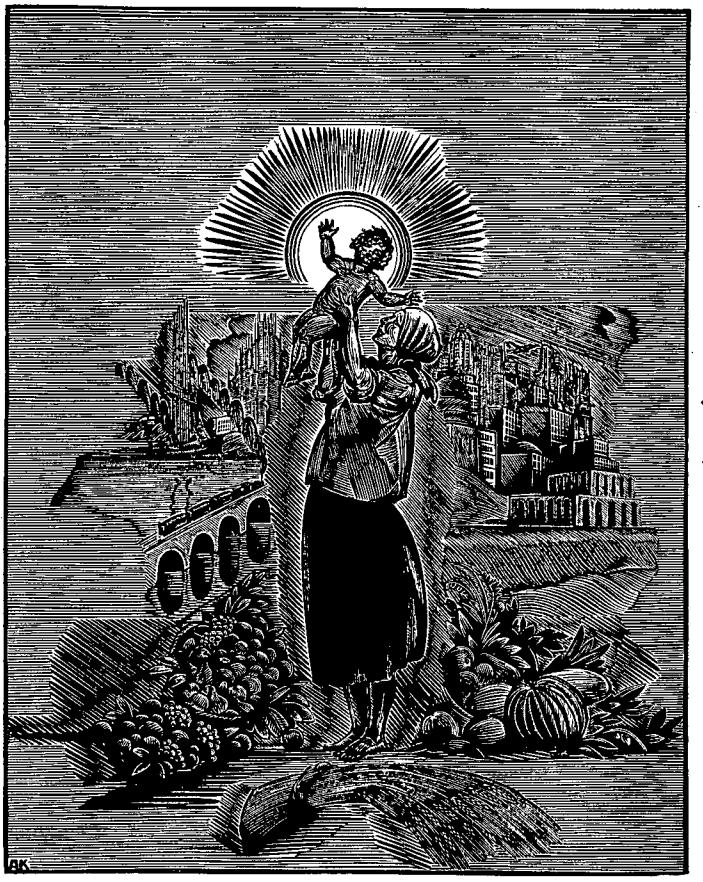
"When the Mohammedan woman comes to the Club for Mothers, or a Babies' Consultation," said the mother of all these clubs, "she takes off her veil in public perhaps for the first time."

In the first years of the training school, we remember meeting these Mohammedan women, their red head-handkerchiefs tied over their black hair. We found our stumbling Russian, which most of the girls so kindly managed to understand, worse than Greek to these black-eyed sisters. In those days, the new students who came to Moscow were not even asked if they could read and write Russian. Now they must show certificates for seven years' schooling. But an exception is made of the women of the minor nations. And 40 per cent in the school come from these small states. They are given a preliminary year of schooling before starting training.

The Institute which we remembered in crude and temporary quarters, we found located in a large and convenient building, with laboratory and residence rooms properly equipped. Over twelve hundred midwives and nurses and nearly four hundred doctors have gone through their respective courses and returned to their own districts to wage warfare against sanitary illiteracy. It is a requirement that those trained in Moscow must return to their own districts at least for a year, as the local government has borne part of the expense of their training.

At the time of our visit, there were four hundred nurses and one hundred doctors in training. The school had the air of any undergraduate place of learning, with corridors full of chattering, fresh-complexioned girls, and class rooms and laboratories with keen-looking instructors laboring with the job in hand. The practice work is in the manifold activities of the Institute, hospital, clinics, day nurseries — more like American nursery schools with strict attention to pedagogical and psychological opportunities — laboratories, consultations. There is an exhibit where every aspect of the work, artistic, scientific and practical, is highly developed. It is, in fact, generally regarded as the most complete in existence.

On the whole, we found the department had grown enormously in the three years of our absence, at least three hundred new points having been organized throughout the country. There were also three distinctly new features. The first was the systematic teaching of birth control—



THE APOTHEOSIS OF THE CHILD

The woodcuts accompanying this article were presented to the author by Dr. Vera Lebedeva, whose work with women and children of Russia is the theme

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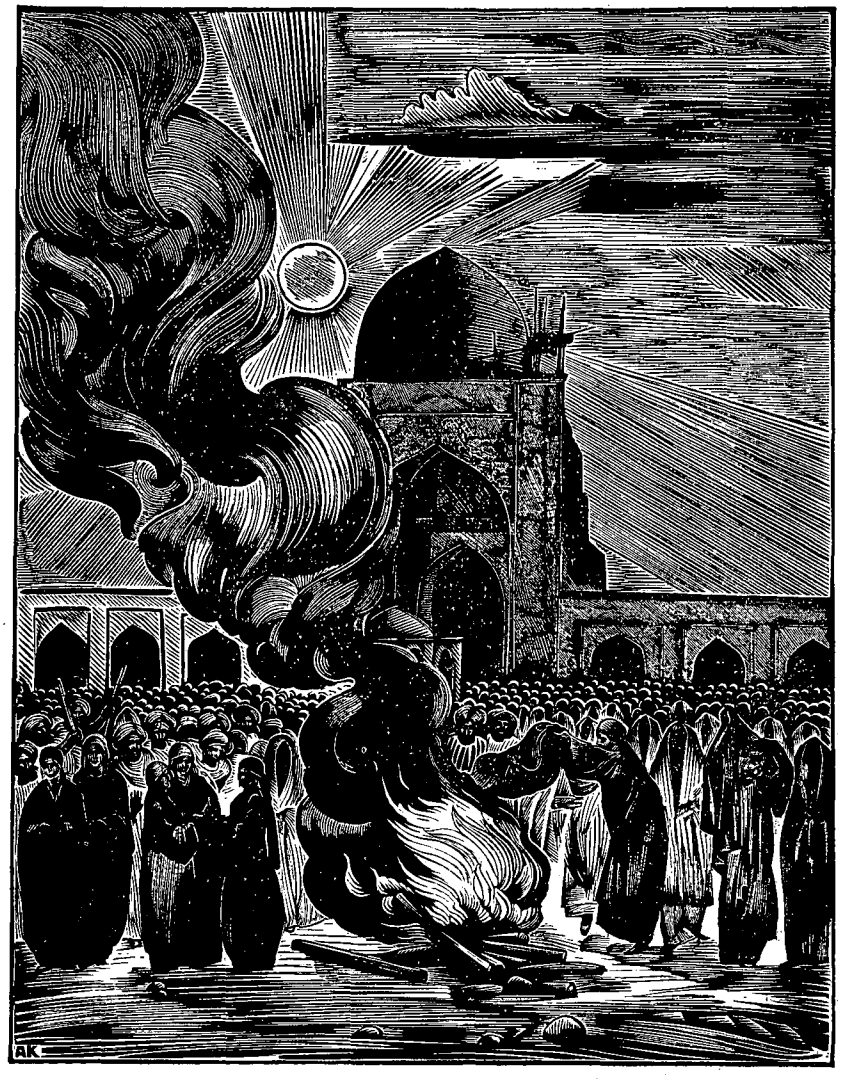
teaching which used to be sporadic and more or less at the whim of the doctor. Now there is a specialist once a week in each mothers' consultation.

The second feature is a special drive on improved methods in artificial feeding, but only when necessary, for great stress is laid on the superiority of mother's milk. Among the experimental methods being studied is the dispensing of mother's milk, sterilized by electricity.

Last, and surely not least, is the beginning in the instruction of fathers! Too long this neglected parent has waited for the special instruction now being given him in pamphlets and classes prepared for *him*.

Dr. Lebedeva invited us to visit in Moscow the various types of institutions in her department. So we spent many mornings seeing the babies and mothers in day nurseries, consultations, milk stations, maternity hospitals and one little sanitarium for babies of one year and under, suffering from tuberculosis. Many of these institutions we had known three or four years previously. All showed with pride the new equipment and increased facilities with increasing numbers aided.

One outstanding feature of the work of the department is the large number of day nurseries. The nursery is definitely in excess of other institutions, and keeps in view not only the child, but the mother at work, for it is a part of the philosophy of the state that women must contribute to industry, as well as to their homes, at the present. No well organized industry lacks its day nursery, run by a committee of the workers.



EMANCIPATION

On Women's Day, March 8, 1927, six thousand women of Uzbekistan burned their veils in the courtyard of the mosque, a symbol of freedom

Visitors generally prefer to see the nursery of the great candy factory in Moscow (the chocolate is excellent), but we were interested at this time in the nursery of a great textile factory, Zindel, in the old industrial section of Moscow. A woman member of the Factory Committee took us over to the rooms on the first floor assigned to the babies. They were in three groups, each with its nurse and attendants. A doctor and manager were in charge. If a baby doesn't turn up, a nurse goes to the home to see if the child is ill.

THE rooms in which the children played and slept and ate, were all bright, airy and decorated for the purpose with frescoes of animals, etc. Each child had its own separate toilet articles, marked not with its name, but by a symbol or flower which the child could recognize. Attention had been given to the psychology of habit-forming, little ladders being placed on one side of the bed to teach the child to climb. Wash-stands, chairs and tables all were adapted to the size of the children, suggesting proper usages and initiative in handling, dressing, washing, and so on.

One of the most unique day nurseries is the Yasli of the Park for Culture and Rest. It is housed near the entrance of this popular resort on the Moscow River, in a lofty building of the Boyar type, the slant roof shading and shielding long balconies on the second floor, used for outdoor sleeping. Here the mother on pleasure bent, may leave her tiniest off-spring, and with a payment of twenty-five kopecs (12½ cents), provide him with all the meals, medical and nurses' care needed for the day. She must present her young applicant before two in the afternoon, and she may have to stand in line, for the privileges of this nursery are highly appreciated. A busy woman doctor supervises all within and without the house, and she has, we thought, perhaps the hardest job in the world. For this baby population changes every day, never gets used to leaving its mother consequently and naturally howls and bawls a considerable part of the time. However, some seemed to sleep in the balconies, above the noise, and others, older, played in the sand boxes and garden, with apparent scorn of the parental perfidy, quite secure under the unobtrusive but competent supervision of the attendant physician.

After a month or more in Moscow, we decided to take time for a hasty return visit to the district we had formerly lived and worked in; namely, Buzuluk, in the Samara district on the steppe. Here, where the American and English societies of Friends were engaged in 1923, feeding nearly 100 per cent of the population and supporting about twenty-five children's homes, we renewed our acquaintance with the local health authorities (*Continued on page* 411)

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In the old days women in industry had no way of caring for their children during work hours

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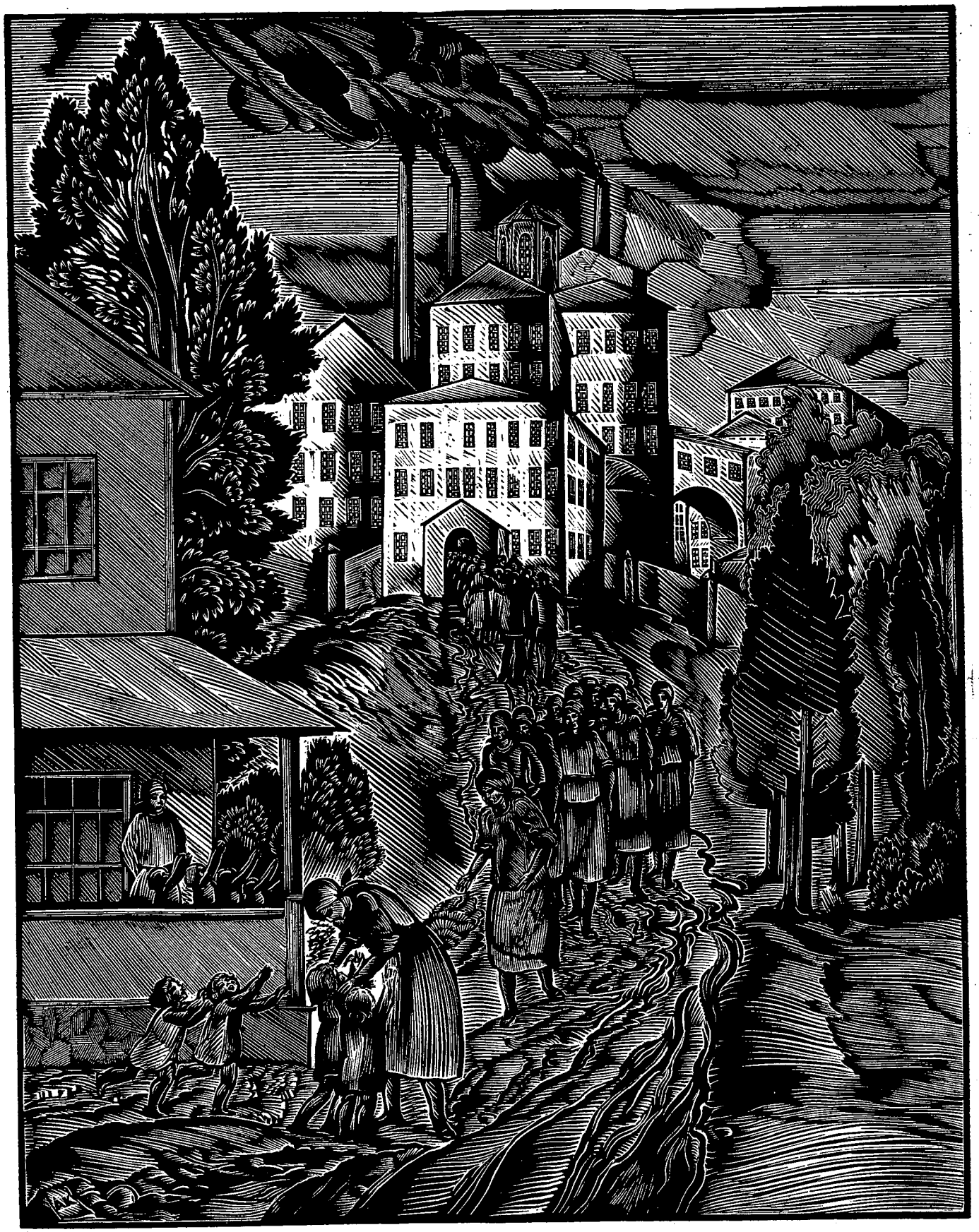

In new Russia the Department for Motherhood provides a day nursery for each large industrial plant

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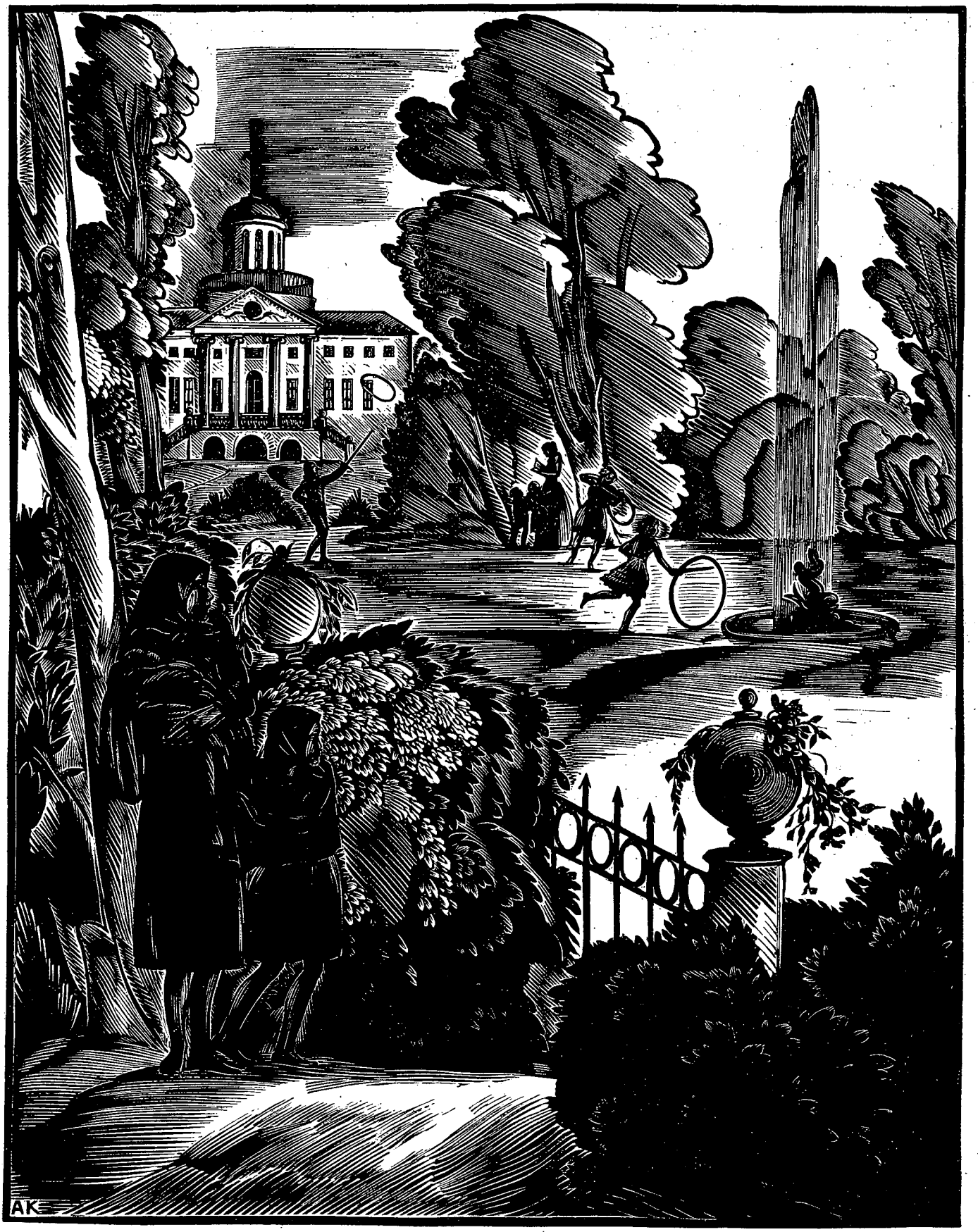

In old Russia it was only the child of wealthy parents who had a place to play

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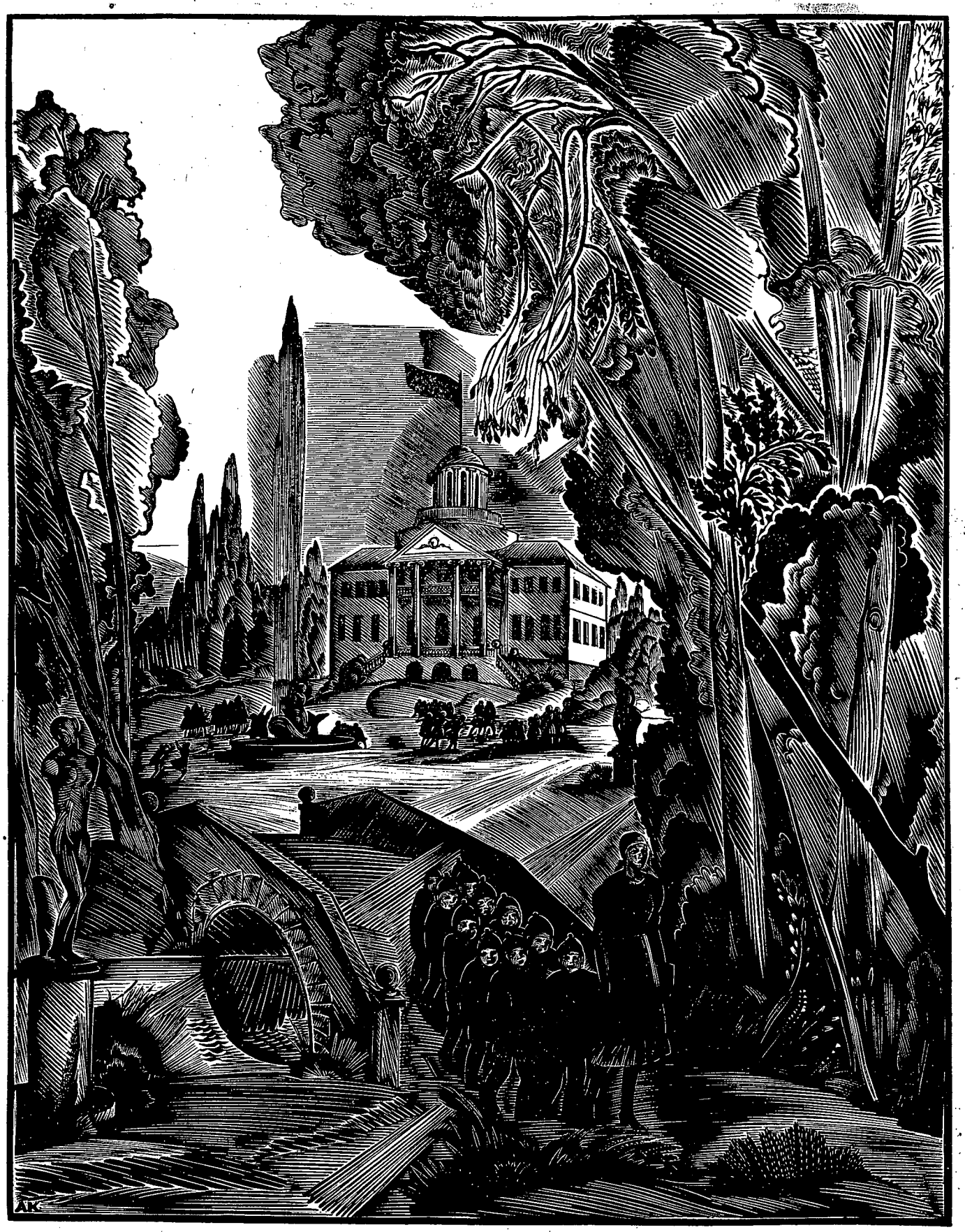

Playleaders and children now fill the parks, which were once private estates

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Photo by Aero Service Corporation, Philadelphia

On the banks of the Schuylkill River in Philadelphia—Fairmont Park, Parkway and the new Art Museum. A splendid achievement in planning in the heart of a great metropolis

Three Centuries After Penn

Planning Three States as a Unit

By LOULA D. LASKER

ONCE upon a time a man named William Penn, champion of religious tolerance, reformer, statesman and pioneer, was also city planner. "City planner, how absurd!" the initiated of today will exclaim. "The profession of city planning was not born until almost three centuries later." True, yet William Penn *was* a city planner. Though the problems to be solved were simple compared to those which arise in the complicated political structures and overcrowded urban districts of the twentieth century, though obviously his ideals would not be considered ideal today, yet William Penn was far ahead of his times. He had vision. He realized that some day the country back of the little settlement of thirty-five struggling houses that he chose for the site of the city of Philadelphia would be settled, and that without proper means of communication prepared in advance, without proper designation of the uses of the land planned for, the inhabitants to come would never reap the full benefits of the natural advantages and beauties of the region. So he determined to make a physical plan for the district the crown had bestowed upon him. To plan ten thousand acres of land was Penn's dream—to plan an area equal in size to the city of London, where the persecuted of his native land might find a refuge, where generations to come could grow and prosper.

Penn's advisers flouted the possibility that such a vast area was ever likely to be settled. Little did they suspect—little did Penn himself suspect—that the densely populated region of which Philadelphia is the center would in the year 1930 spread over four thousand square miles. Little did they suspect that in the years to come the development of this territory adjacent to Philadelphia—a district for which today the Regional Planning Federation of the Tri-State District is making a comprehensive plan—would be of paramount importance to those residing in the metropolis as well as to those living within a reasonable distance outside its boun-

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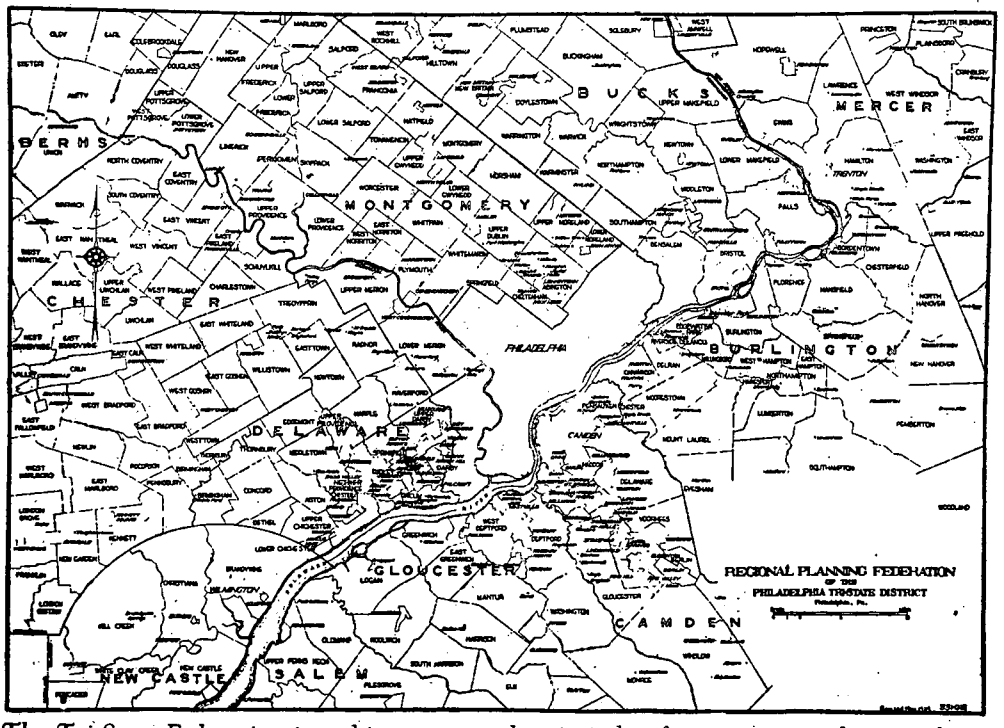
daries. But more of this contemporary plan anon, Penn yielded to his advisers on the question of size, but insisted on a physical plan, the first ever made in the New World.

Of Penn's liberal political program for his "subjects," much has been written in the annals of history, but that is another story. Yet it is all part and parcel of his character. Power and authority in his eyes were but a responsibility. And his responsibility it was to plan as best he could for those who followed him. In the autumn of 1681 accordingly, he sent out commissioners overseas to lay out a town which was to be the center of the proposed commonwealth. He instructed his agents to choose a site if possible at the mouth of a good river, to plan "a greene country towne," with space around the houses for gardens and orchards, "so that it will never be burnt and always be wholesome." The commissioners fixed the site of Philadelphia just above the juncture of the Delaware and Scuylkill. In 1682 Thomas Holme, Penn's surveyor, completed a master map for the Philadelphia region. Region, mind you, for such the territory was rightly considered at the time. Perhaps, therefore, we might almost say Penn was the grand great-grandfather of regional planning. At any rate, City-Planner Penn put his finger on the first essential of a good plan—a coordinated highway system. There was to be a system of uniform parallel streets, intersected by a similar system at right angles. The rivers running north and south were joined by a wide central avenue—High Street (the Market Street of today)—running east and west. About midway this avenue was intersected by an imposing thoroughfare, Broad Street. Where Broad and High cross there was a central open square—the site of the present City Hall. Well chosen indeed were the names of the principal streets of the new city, for "high" and "broad" were truly the key to the planning philosophy of this pioneer. In the center of each of the four quarters into which the city was thus divided, there were "greene spots" preserved for the "comfort and recreation of the people." We may well appreciate that last provision.

The city planner of 1930 may point out that highways are but one aspect of a well-rounded plan, and that the "gridiron" system especially is open to the severest criticism. But when it is remembered that William Penn was among the first few who initiated the idea of city squares or parks as breathing spaces, one must agree that his early plan is worthy of unstinted praise. In the final analysis, however, the real significance of Penn's action was his appreciation that the wilderness that lay behind the tiny settlement nestling on the banks of the Delaware would not forever remain a wilderness. Bountifully supplied as it was by nature with pure water, luxurious forest, rolling meadow lands, the population in this area must spread out and increase. And planned growth was desirable.

THE population of the region, in reality, grew far faster than even Penn had dreamed. By 1776 Philadelphia contained 3508 houses and 35,000 people. Other communities sprang up north and south. Philadelphia itself expanded to the banks of the Scuylkill River. Before the Civil War the region had far overrun its original boundaries; the city had half a million inhabitants. The 1280 acres that Penn's advisers had with some timidity surveyed, spilled over into 82,000 acres and still the region continued to grow. In 1876, the centennial year of the United States, Philadelphia's population was approximately 840,000. Penn's plan was outgrown. Adequate—more than adequate—in 1682, now it was simply of historic interest. But, alas, no new city planner arose in this hour of need. Unguided or misguided, the city and the surrounding territory continued to grow, without plan and without vision.

The twentieth century dawned—Philadelphia's population had grown to over a million and a quarter, the region's to over two millions. As everywhere, the automobile was entirely changing the character of this district. New suburban cities were coming into their own. With the metropolis within easy access, the advantages of both city and country could be interchangedly enjoyed—provided adequate means of communication were developed, provided use of the natural advantages of the region was insured. In 1910, the year which witnessed the general introduction of the motor car as a means of quick and cheap transportation, a violent change in population began. Up to then the central city with its concentrated industrial activities had grown faster than the outlying districts. In that decade, however, the rate of growth in the suburban district became higher than in Philadelphia, while the interplay of of every relationship—social, economic, recreational—became more frequent and more complicated. As modern life became more complex, as the individual family went farther and farther from the home to carry on its daily



The Tri-State Federation is making a comprehensive plan for a region embracing four thousand square miles, and three hundred and sixty political subdivisions

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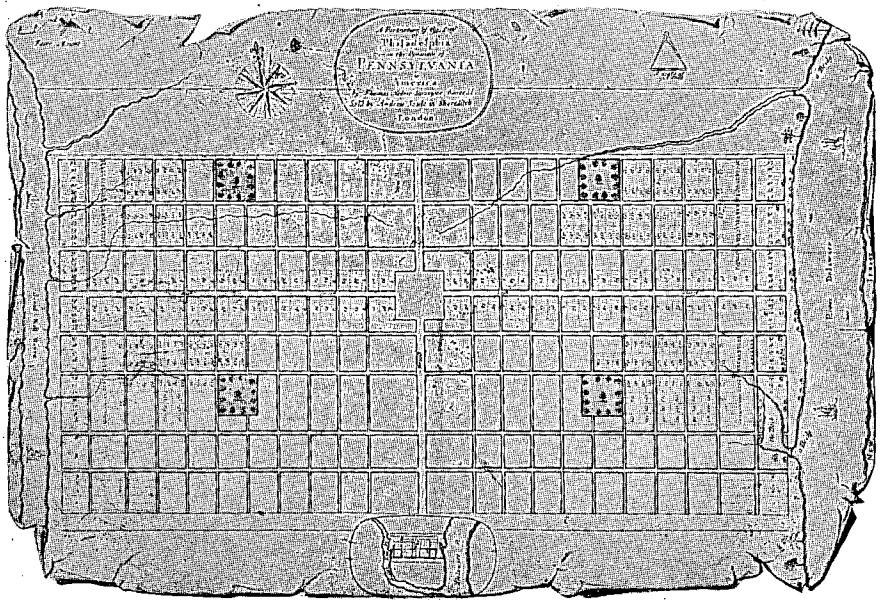
affairs of business and pleasure, problems not only of transportation, but of recreation, sanitation, health and other matters of social significance developed throughout the district as a unit. As this development continued, cities within a radius of thirty to forty miles from Philadelphia, looked more and more to the metropolis as the focal point of many of their activities, while the central city sought, as it were, relief from strictly urban conditions in the surrounding country. Thus Philadelphia became the hub of a great wheel; other lesser cities in the region became the hubs of smaller ones. To function properly the hub and spokes must each do their share, the wheels must interlock—otherwise the relationship is out of gear. The second decade of the twentieth century arrived. But still no machinery was devised to hold the hub and spokes together. No general plans were formulated to regulate and guide the growth of the region; few individual communities made any attempt to plan for their future development. Topsy-like, all continued to grow.

Almost two hundred and fifty years had passed since Penn first drew his plans for his "Greene Towne" and its environs. Penn's descendents had wantonly wasted or destroyed the resources with which nature had endowed the region. In all the four thousand square miles of the Tri-State district now scarcely a single virgin forest remained outside the semi-waste pine lands of New Jersey. The crystal clear streams had been carelessly polluted; the fine supply of pure drinking water had been destroyed, to say nothing of the loss as recreational spots of the lovely creek valleys. New towns sprang up, it is true; old towns spread over new territory. But was the price that was paid commensurate with the unnecessary destruction of the beauty spots of nature that accompanied such expansion? Millions of dollars were required to create artificial parks, where but thousands would have sufficed had natural areas been left in their pristine condition in countless cases where they would have been feasible. And even were funds readily available, nature's masterpieces could but rarely be duplicated. Adequate water supplies had to be sought at distant points for the ever-growing population.[1] A prodigal people had wasted its resources. Still nature had been so generous that there yet remained opportunities to profit from past experience, to devise ways to correct some of the errors of days gone by.



Penn's plan for the Philadelphia region, with "four greene spots preserved for the comfort and recreation of the people." An engraving of 1683

Such, in substance, was the situation when at the close of the first quarter of the twentieth century conditions were at last *consciously* recognized by a small group of citizens. If these conditions had been less menacing, perhaps the status quo would have continued. But finally in 1923 a first step toward correction was taken. In this year a small committee was organized by the City Club of Philadelphia to study the entire problem of regional relationships. This committee soon discovered that the problem was so intricate and so involved with other problems that the establishment of an expert, "full-time," and independent organization was necessary even to attempt to grapple with it. The spirit of Penn had survived. A group of public-spirited citizens responded to the call, and in 1926 the Regional Planning Federation of the Tri-State District was formed, the parent of the Planning Federation which was incorporated two years later. To the vision, interest and unsparing devotion of Colonel Samuel P. Wetherill, who has been the president of the federation since its inception, much of the credit for the achievement in the field of planning up to date is due. With Colonel Wetherill, Jr., are associated, as an executive committee, the following citizens, all well known for their interest in civic and philanthropic activities in the district: Herbert L. Badger, Samuel T. Bodine, Charles Day, Conrad N. Lauer, C. Stevenson Newhall, Bernard J. Newman, Eli Kirk Price, Philip M. Sharples, Sylvester D. Townsend, George S. Webster, J. Borton Weeks. In the early period the awakening of public recognition was vital. It became necessary to develop a sense of mutual responsibility for the future region, not only among great groups of civic agencies but also among great utilities, business and banking institutions, who play so large a part in the development of the region. In this connection, the enthusiasm and leadership of Samuel Rea, former president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, must be recognized as one of the most significant elements in the entire regional planning program, which was crystallized under the leadership of a committee of which he was chairman and Samuel T. Bodine and Effingham Morris members.

AT once an organized effort was made to sound out the business and civic interests of the region to see how seriously they felt a comprehensive regional plan was needed. There was a gratifying response, alike from forward-looking business men, wide-awake citizens, and civic organizations. There was general agreement that the congestion that had been allowed to develop in the center of the area must be

[1] Today sixty communities within the region have no sewage systems; 94 have sewers but no disposal plant. At present in the main, disposal is taken care of by each community separately with no system of coordination, although there is a watershed, broad and unobstructed, adaptable to the construction of trunk sewer lines capable of serving various groups of communities. Yet by adopting a scientific cooperative plan the sewage need not find its way either directly or indirectly into the streams and rivers, eventually polluting the water supply of the entire region.

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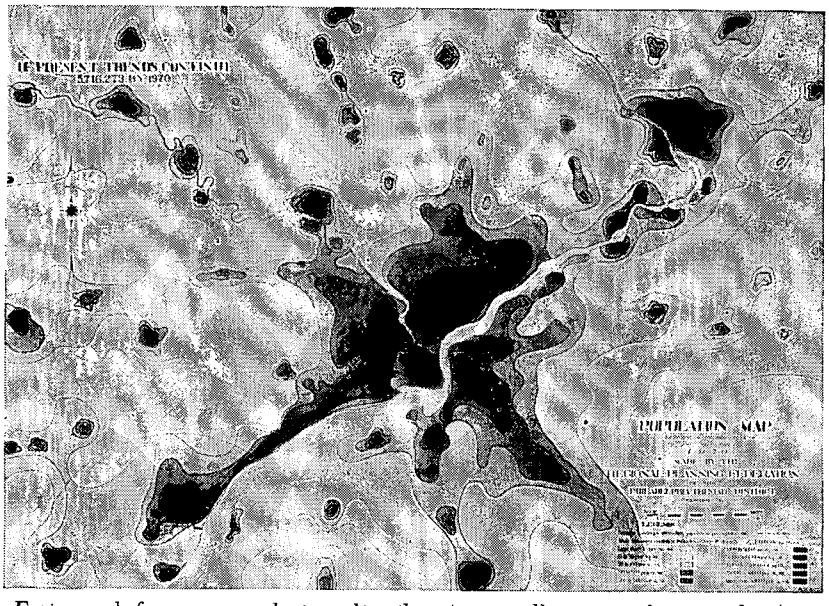


Estimated future population distribution—well scattered, agriculture increasing. The 1970 population is expected to be almost 5,750,000

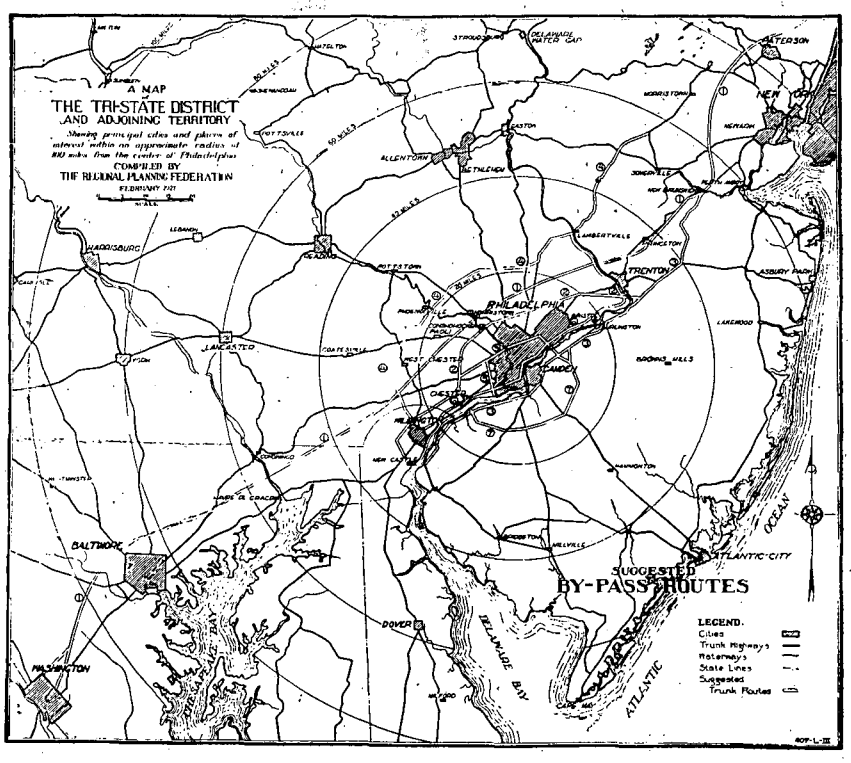
controlled in the outer rim. Not only must the great natural resources of the region be conserved, but they must be made available to as large a proportion of the population as possible.

But a solid regional plan necessarily rests on a foundation of research. And research costs money. At least half a million dollars was needed. A difficult task, indeed, but perhaps it was the very necessity to raise this appreciable sum that focussed the intense interest of the region as a whole in the plan. In 1928 not only the sum required but an extra hundred thousand was raised by donation. The Regional Plan Federation of the Tri-State District began its work in earnest—the work of planning for the future of a region embracing today an area of about four thousand square miles within a radius of about thirty-five miles of the central business section of Philadelphia, and containing a population according to the recent census of approximately three and a half millions, a number nearly equal to the entire population of the thirteen colonies in 1776. And the present rate of growth it is estimated that by 1940 the population of the region will be over four and a quarter millions; by 1970 nearly five and three quarters.

In this district, located in the three states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, there are 360 separate administrative units—360 political subdivisions with varying legislative powers, including 16 counties, 211 townships, and 133 incorporated cities and boroughs. Though independent politically, obviously these communities share a group of fundamental regional needs. Obviously highway and transportation, water supply, sewage disposal, parks and parkways, all major necessities of modern metropolitan life overstepping the physical boundary lines of town, village, city and even state, must be provided for.

To make a comprehensive plan for so vast a region, was a daring undertaking, but one which was immediately begun and is now approaching completion. But that regional planning implies cooperation of all parts of the district, of all communities, is self-evident. Only through cooperation can the beautiful creek valleys of the region be rescued from ruin, probable ruin or ruin already achieved. Only through cooperation can the rivers and streams be freed from pollution, now and for all time. Only through a cooperatively administered plan can the pine lands in New Jersey, of little use at present, be converted into a forest reserve, accessible to the cities in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. Only through the cooperation of these three-hundred-odd units can congestion such as has been allowed to develop in the center of the region, be controlled. The mistake of the past—not consciously to provide for future growth and development—must not be made again.

Although the Federation is not yet ready to offer completely crystallized plans for the solution of situations such as these, conditions have been carefully analyzed, a number of interim reports have been made, and the form of remedy in several important instances has been outlined. To illustrate; at present the highway facilities of the region depend on sixteen main motor roads all starting from Philadelphia; connecting these radial roads are other highways which follow directions determined by conditions when the wagon was the main medium of transportation. At present there is no coordinate plan to fit the modern changed conditions. Motor traffic, unfamiliar with the various routes, is compelled to make long detours or drive into and through Philadelphia in order to pass through the district. Communities close "as the crow flies," are re-



To relieve traffic congestion in centers of population, a series of by-pass highways—forming a link in a great national system—is planned

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mote from the point of view of time. This condition alone, resulting in traffic congestion and delay, costs the region, it is estimated, $400,000 daily! To ameliorate this situation, a program for traffic relief providing for seven by-pass highways has been formulated.

Though impossible to discuss in detail all seven proposals, two should be specifically mentioned because of their national as well as their regional significance, because they illustrate so aptly the general theory of regional planning, as well as the relation of one region to another. Route number one, as it is designated, by-passing Philadelphia and the other large cities, is part of a proposed national highway from New England to Miami, and the continuation is included in the regional plan of New York on one end, and the plan for the region surrounding the National Capital on the other. It enters the Tri-State Region near Princeton, crosses the Delaware into Pennsylvania at some point above Yardley, crosses Pennsylvania in the vicinity of Hatboro and Fort Washington, north of Conshohocken and Devon, south of West Chester, through Oxford, and then enters Maryland at Rising Sun, continuing on into the Washington region. The complete trunk highway located inland would parallel the sea and connect *but by-pass* the great industrial centers of the east coast of the United States. As the Tri-State Federation points out, such a route would be a tremendous strategic and economic asset both in time of peace and times of war. Proposed route number two, laid out according to the same principles, is part of a transcontinental system, and would afford relief for Lincoln Highway and routes to the south by by-passing Trenton, Philadelphia, Chester, and Wilmington. Another proposed route is especially designed for those who wish to enjoy the scenic beauties of the region. The adoption of these and the remaining highways would free city and town streets from the unnecessary congestion due to the pressure of through traffic, while providing the autoist with far more convenient routes than are offered today—blessings which hardly need to be emphasized.

Where fire and axe have spared them, splendid pine forests still remain in South Jersey. Reforestation can restore them in other areas

Based on critical study of future as well as present conditions, the highway report is especially welcome, for in spite of the ever-growing budgets involved in the vast program for traffic relief, the highway situation of the region is particularly deplorable. Twenty-five years ago New Jersey was spending a few hundred thousand dollars a year on highways; today it has launched a five-year program which involves the expenditure of more than thirty million dollars. In 1916 the expenditures of the highway department of Pennsylvania amounted to about seven millions annually; in 1926 disbursements of the department were in excess of forty-five millions, an increase of over 650 per cent in a decade! More money spent, increased population, but still no comprehensive regional traffic system, only piecemeal planning. Now the first step has been taken to provide a logical plan for the entire tri-state district. The program offered is "an effort at farsighted planning that will establish the location, direction, and width of roads in such a manner and in such relation to one another as to provide the most direct, convenient and pleasurable way of getting from place to place and at the same time automatically to segregate classes of traffic. . . . Comprehensive, extending over wide areas, disregarding state boundary lines and done in correlation with the planning of all means of transportation and land uses."

Another problem which is receiving the immediate attention of the Federation as far as formulating a program is concerned, relates to a system of district parks and parkways. In planning the breathing spaces for the future population of the Tri-State District, the Federation did not have to look far, for interlacing and draining the region are more than fifty beautiful water courses with a total length of more than fifteen hundred miles, representing a rare opportunity for the development of a series of parkways. Using nature's own plan, it is proposed to preserve and develop these creek valleys. According to the plan, not only will the creeks be freed from pollution but a broad band of open space will be reserved on both banks. Furthermore, in the cases of creek valleys which are logical traffic arteries, it is proposed to develop them accordingly, at the same time carefully guarding their scenic attractions. On the other hand, certain creek valleys in the region will be made accessible to pedestrians only. Already movements have been set underway to preserve and park Darby Creek, which flows into the Delaware just west of Philadelphia, Crum Creek, Ridley Creek, Pennypack Creek and Rancocas Creek.

In addition to the preservation of nature's groundwork of creeks and parkways, the Federation suggests the creation of two or more large forest reservations, within easy reach of the concentrated population of Philadelphia and adjacent cities. In the northwestern part of the region, plans are in fact being formulated for a great forest preserve lying in the counties of Chester, Berks, and Lancaster, at an elevation of approximately a thousand feet. This land, not well adapted to residential or industrial purposes, can be reforested and used as an unusual, almost wild, forest preserve. Another forest preserve is to be located in the extensive pinelands of New Jersey. (*Continued on page* 407)

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Prisons Where Trouble May Come

By WINTHROP D. LANE

WHERE will the next prison outbreak be?

That is, perhaps, a foolish question. Perhaps it is no more foolish than "Where will the next earthquake be?" for seismology, which is rounding into a science, can hardly yet tell where the *next* earthquake will be. Predicting where the next storm will be is comparatively feasible. And students of labor conditions can sometimes tell where the next strike will be.

From experience, if not from pure science, one may hazard a similar prison forecast. Unless we choose to be blind, to believe that men in prison are wholly unlike men elsewhere; unless we choose to believe that they are wicked, wilful, lawless and, like the kin of Caliban, wholly devoid of human attributes and to be treated with the iron hand and mailed fist, we can, with reason, assume that where inhuman conditions exist, human nature will rebel against them. An over accumulation of human misery makes for outbreaks and when they occur, they must, of course, be put down and order must be restored. A prophecy is also a warning. Prophecies come true when warnings are disregarded or are noted too late. What I venture here as a prophecy is with the hope that it may prove a warning. In this spirit and for this purpose, I venture to prophesy that if nothing is done to correct conditions, the next prison outbreaks will occur in one or more of the following institutions:

New York State Prison, Auburn—where there have already been two outbreaks.

Ohio Penitentiary, Columbus, where 322 prisoners were burned to death April 21 last.

State Prison, Folsom, California, which probably has a larger percentage of men serving long terms, with little hope of release in the near future, than any other prison in the country.

State Reformatory, Mansfield, Ohio, about which little has been heard. It is not a reformatory, but a prison, and one of the most overcrowded institutions in the country with a serious problem of idleness.

Kansas's famous "mine prison"—the State Penitentiary at Lansing, where many men are employed in a coal mine. A strike occurred in this mine three or four years ago. At that time the morale of the institution was very low, caused by the almost complete cessation of paroles.

West Virginia Penitentiary, Moundsville. The plant of this institution meets scarcely a single standard of a modern prison.

Missouri Penitentiary, Jefferson City, one of the three largest prisons in the country and one of the most ineffectively run.

New York State Prison, Dannemora, where several hundred men are still segregated for the part they are believed to have taken in the dramatic riot there last summer.

Washington State Penitentiary, Walla Walla, where, because of idleness, many men are confined in cells twenty hours a day.

State House of Correction and Branch Prison, Marquette, Michigan, which receives the "trouble-makers" from other penal institutions in the state.

Maryland Penitentiary, Baltimore, where the morale is poor and the plant one of the worst in the East.

The two United States civil penitentiaries at Atlanta and Leavenworth. Both are very badly overcrowded and at Leavenworth there was a serious riot last summer. The probability of outbreaks at these institutions has been lessened by enlightened policies instituted by the new United States Superintendent of Prisons, Sanford Bates.

This list is long, yet there are still other prisons where outbreaks might occur. Desire for liberty is not confined to the men in these jails; nor are these the only ones where conditions are such that one might say "Trouble is quite possible here." But I am not trying to list all American penal institutions. In picking these, no criticism is necessarily implied of officials directly responsible for the prisons. Outbreaks may occur from causes entirely outside the control of persons immediately in charge.

Is there real likelihood of further outbreaks? Isn't it probable, on the other hand, that prisoners see the futility of such measures, and that since very few escapes have resulted from previous outbreaks, no further ones will be attempted?

"The boys have settled down now and everything's quiet," said a member of the board of commissioners of the Missouri Penitentiary, following the disturbance there not long ago. "They feel that they've done their bit in this matter of staging prison riots, and I don't look for any more trouble." Possibly a naïve view of the situation.

Not only do conditions tending to provoke outbreaks still exist, but some of these conditions are worse than they were when the outbreaks of the past year occurred:

1. Long sentences. As everyone knows, judges have been passing longer sentences recently than they did five or ten years ago. In some states laws have required this, for penalties (either for particular crimes or for third or fourth offenders) have been lengthened; where laws have not required it, very many judges have acted on their own initiative, or been influenced by public opinion. The consequence has been that there are now, and for several years have been, increasing numbers of prisoners willing to take desperate chances for escape. Testimony of prisoners in Auburn prison, following the difficulties there last year, was that "excessive sentences are perhaps the greatest cause of discontent."

M. Liepmann, professor of criminology at the University of Hamburg, who made an extended visit to America three or four years ago, held up his hands in horror at the terms meted out to offenders. "Offenses that in England or Germany would have been punished by a maximum sentence of from one to five years in America resulted in terms of from thirty to forty years," he reported.

"Young man," said one of the nine judges of the Court of General Sessions in New York city not long ago, the muscles of his neck working as he pronounced sentence on a young fellow twenty years old, "I shall give you a sentence of such length that when you come out you *may* still be eligible for an old man's home."

Men recently sentenced for long periods sit side by side with those who, so far as they know, merit the same treatment, but whose terms, imposed under earlier conditions, are many years shorter. Naturally the long-termers brood over this.

2. Elimination, or reduction, of "good conduct" time, by which prisoners could earn a shortening of their sentences. Instituted as a result of public excitement over crime, this tendency works as a possible cause of disturbance or riot in prisons.

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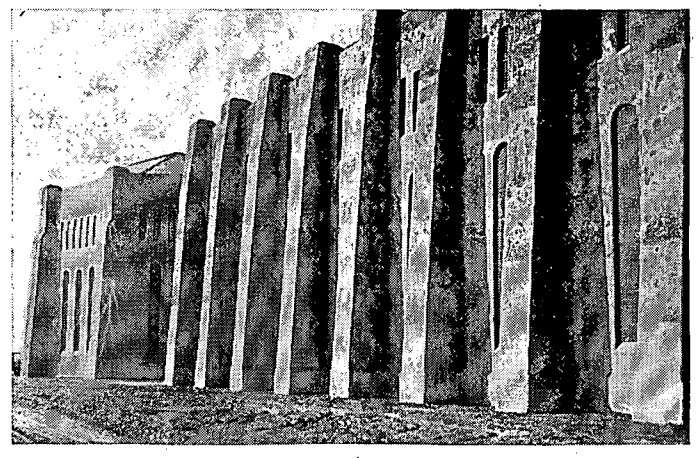
3. Fewer paroles—and these granted only after a longer residence in prison. This, too, provoked by fear of a "crime wave," remains the policy of many paroling authorities—and helps not only to keep the prisons crowded but to shut the door of hope to those who otherwise might shape their conduct to the prospect of earlier release.

4. Extraordinary and growing overcrowding. The plain fact is that American prisons are filling to the bursting point. For this there are several reasons. First is the failure of both state and federal governments to build as rapidly as increases in population would suggest. Second is the passage of laws putting more and more people in prison —more of this in a moment. Third is perhaps the greater efficiency of some police and prosecuting departments during recent years. Fourth is the policy of longer sentences and fewer paroles. It is doubtful if American prisons, taken as a whole, were ever as overcrowded as they are now.

Look at the federal institutions. Not long ago the Attorney General of the United States went before a committee of the House of Representatives and reported that Atlanta prison, with a normal capacity of 1580, had 3687 prisoners. Leavenworth, with a capacity of 1640, had 3100 prisoners. The new industrial reformatory at Chillicothe, Ohio, now being built, will ultimately have a capacity of 1000, but according to Attorney General Mitchell, there were already 1747 young men living there in temporary quarters, "waiting around like a flock of martins in the spring, to get into the house when it is built." What's the use of talking about normal conditions in prison when such a state of affairs exists? The federal government has done little building of penal institutions of late. Meanwhile, at the end of 1928, of 8227 prisoners in four federal civil penal institutions, 4696 were sentenced under legislation of recent years: under the Drug Act, 2410; the Motor Vehicle Act, 1145; and the Prohibition Law, 1141. A site for at least one new federal prison is now being chosen, and presumably there is to be an extension of probation service in federal courts, so the situation in federal civil prisons may be relieved.

The overcrowding is just as bad or worse in many other institutions. In the Ohio Penitentiary, Columbus, famous for its recent holocaust, the population not long ago was more than 4300—excessive congestion. The reformatory at Mansfield, Ohio, already mentioned, has cells for 900 and the population is now about 3000—men are not only doubled up but are thrown together in makeshift dormitories, several of which are far from decent places to live in. Indeed, there are hardly any prisons in the more populous states that are not overcrowded—Missouri Penitentiary at Jefferson City; San Quentin Prison, California; New Jersey State Prison, Trenton; Michigan State Prison, Jackson, and so forth. State prisons in even the less populous states are now overcrowded, among them the Oregon penitentiary at Salem, the Washington prison at Walla Walla, and the West Virginia Penitentiary, Moundsville. That most useful compendium, the 1929 Handbook of American Prisons and Reformatories, published by the National Society of Penal Information, declares:

> Overcrowding has created a problem not only of providing proper housing facilities but for the commissary department and practically every other department of the institutions. In many prisons two, and sometimes three, sittings have to be provided for at every meal. It is surprising that under such conditions the commissary departments have been maintained in as good a sanitary condition as they are generally found to be.
>
> The medical departments face a similar problem for in most institutions the medical staff and hospital capacity were inadequate even for the smaller populations of previous years. Overcrowding not only puts a strain on every department of a prison but inevitably increases the restrictions and tension of prison life for practically every inmate. When overcrowding reaches one hundred per cent or more, especially when accompanied by long sentences, stopping the earning of "good time," and an ultra-conservative parole policy, *outbreaks are almost inevitable. Perhaps the marvel is that more of them have not occurred.*



East Wing of San Quentin, one of California's overcrowded prisons, whose trouble-makers are sent on to Folsom

5. Idleness. Think of keeping men locked up for years with practically nothing to do.

In Columbus there is an "idle house" with, at recent reports, 1200 men who go there each day from their cells and sit and vegetate. The intelligence of the state of Ohio is not equal to putting them to work. A condition nearly as bad exists at the so-called state reformatory at Mansfield, where the number of men assigned to each shop is nearly double the number actually required.

Overcrowding has helped, of course, to produce this situation. Not more than two or three states in the union have any well-thought out plan for employing prisoners in all their institutions. Serious idleness—either because men do no work or do very little—exists in penal institutions in Montana, Nevada, Washington, Missouri, California, Michigan, New York and many other states. "No serious prison riot has yet taken place in an institution where all the inmates have been provided with steady and productive labor," said Sanford Bates the other day. Very likely, nevertheless, there is more idleness in American prisons today than there was three or four years ago, a fertile soil of trouble.

For a closer view, take Folsom as an example. Choice of the site appears to have been determined largely by the presence of rock for quarrying purposes—and the quarry employs half the men. Unfortunately this has practically no vocational value, so Folsom must be rated very low on the side of what it does, through its industries, for its prisoners.

One of the cell houses is old and has never had any provision for heating the cells. The plumbing arrangement consists of openings in the sewer between the old cell blocks and the extension, into which the cell buckets are dumped. There is no system of classification of inmates, and no routine mental examination. Men are seated facing only one way at tables in the mess hall, so each man

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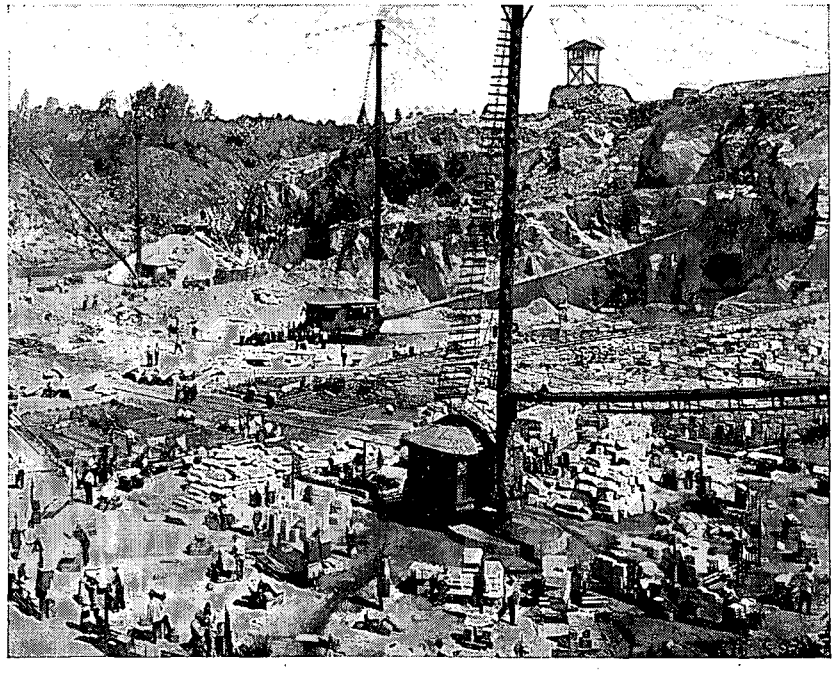
ooks at rows of backs of other men. The dietary is extra-ordinary for the state of California. Beans are served at nearly every meal and potatoes frequently. Other vegetables are served rarely, except in stews. Usually a spoon is the only equipment allowed for eating—a remnant of the days when it was believed prisoners could not be allowed to use knives and forks in the mess hall.

Folsom is known as the Siberia of California; it is intended primarily for those who have served previous terms and for "trouble-makers" from San Quentin Prison. It probably has a larger percentage of men serving long terms than any other prison.



At Folsom Prison the stone quarry employs 1100 men at work that might occupy 200—and work that has practically no vocational value

THE riot of Thanksgiving day, 1927, brought this prison widespread attention. To quote the Handbook, already mentioned:

The prison officials could have handled the affair if they had been allowed to, for it originated in an attempt of only six men to escape. The sending in of the militia produced a situation in which the rioters, armed with one lone automatic, were besieged by hundreds of militiamen. The occurrence is significant in that it illustrates the methods which powerful states often employ. Instead of correcting conditions which cause riots they too often apply drastic and spectacular methods in quelling them and then settle back, presumably to await the next one.

In spite of the continued efforts of local officials and of the board of prison directors to establish industries here, the prison is little more than idle-house. A rock crusher has been installed in the quarry and 1100 men are assigned there at work which might possibly employ 200. The reiterated statement of the prison directors may well be quoted: "The essays at industrialization at San Quentin have been farcical; the complete failure of any such efforts at Folsom—tragic." The farm and road work are both excellent but cannot employ more than a fraction of the steadily increasing population. The state could profitably establish here a plant to make auto license plates and road markers, as so many states have done. . . . Such an industry employs very few men, but it is only one of the many industries that might be developed to manufacture articles on the state-use and state-account bases, if powerful interests in opposition did not have their way to prevent it.

Perhaps it is not necessary to mention others. One might quote the words of a recent special committee of the House of Representatives to investigate federal penal and reformatory institutions:

The committee found that the Leavenworth Penitentiary now has within its walls more than twice the number of prisoners it is able to accommodate. . . . In both of these institutions [Atlanta, also] there exists the vicious practice of "doubling-up," or placing two prisoners in single cells. Men are sleeping in dark, ill-ventilated basements, and corridors; improvised dormitories are in use; the kitchen and mess facilities are overloaded to more than twice their proper capacity. . . . At Leavenworth most of the prisoners are employed part time, but there is insufficient work to keep the prisoners properly engaged during ordinary working hours.

And so it goes. These are sample prisons. There may be no more outbreaks now, but if there are, another condition, still unmentioned, will probably have something to do with it. That is the tightening up in administration caused by the caution, or fear, which some prison officials have felt as they have watched these outbreaks. This is natural, and if it simply took the form of commendable precautions against trouble, all would applaud. But in some prisons it has gone farther than that. It has meant a return to rigors, repressive administrative features, withdrawal of privileges, more hours in cells, and things like that, which provoke trouble instead of producing smoother administration. Many prison officials, having no clearly defined plans for operating their prisons, simply resort to the big stick when they think there may be difficulty. This is just as effective in dealing with criminals as it is with any other group of people. And it is no protection to society. For the thing that society needs is that when these men come out of prison, as practically all will do, they should obey laws and earn livings. And rigorous, repressive prison discipline makes no contribution to that desirable end, and often encourages the contrary result.

TROUBLES can be noticed here and there in prisons today. Things are not as smooth in the huge Ohio State Penitentiary as a recent statement by Warden P. E. Thomas would have us believe. As I write these lines, a race riot is said to be simmering in Auburn. A serious disturbance, little noticed by the press, occurred at Mansfield, Ohio, a few weeks ago. "Prisoners coming to us from the prisons of many states," said the executive of a national prisoner's aid organization the other day, "report low morale and ferment in many places." Let us hope that troubles break out in none of these institutions—and whether they do or not, let us look constructively at the dangers of idleness, hopelessness and overcrowding as they have been illumined by the tragedies of the past year.

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Foci of Liberty

By JOHN PALMER GAVIT

ONE of the signers of our own Declaration of Independence—I have forgotten which and cannot at the moment authenticate the statement—was the son or grandson of an Icelander. It was no radical thing for him to do; the spirit of it had been in his blood since the ninth century. More than a thousand years ago, Norwegians, fleeing from the tyranny of Harald Fairhair, went to Iceland, carrying with them their clan chieftainships, and presently established a representative government with a parliament known as the Althing, which with one relatively brief interruption has existed ever since. A couple of centuries later, largely by means of assassination and corruption, Norway took possession, but that lasted only a little while. In 1380, through changes in the Scandinavian dynasties, the island passed under Danish control. The embers of liberty never died. The struggle for independence was perennial. There is a monument at Reykjavik to Jon Sigurson, "Iceland's beloved son, her honor, sword and shield." He it was who won in 1874 the present liberal constitution and is honored now as the liberator, leader of that insurgency embattled for more than a thousand years. Presently there will be another monument, provided for by act of our own Congress, gift of the United States in honor of Leif Ericson, who sailed from Iceland about the year 1000, to establish probably at the place now called New Bedford in Massachusetts his legendary Vinland—500 years before Columbus bumped into the Western Hemisphere and opened the way for Tammany Hall, Bill Thompson of Chicago, the bootleggers and other face-eruptions symptomatic of our political adolescence.

If, like a supposedly intelligent New Englander with whom I talked the other day in Worcester, you are thinking of the Icelanders as in the category with the Eskimos, you'd better forget it, along with many other notions concerning "foreign" peoples that you never have seen or bothered much about. In that little island—not so very little; it is 300 miles across and its area is not much less than that of New York State—literacy is very high. They set great store by education, of the same sort that we affect to value. Not only is there a school in every community; there are also traveling teachers who "ride circuit" among the outlying homes. The national university at Reykjavik is supplemented by technical schools, of medicine, navigation, agriculture. There is regular steamship communication with the outside world; submarine connection spreads out into telegraph and telephone systems entirely modern. Wireless and aeroplanes for aught I know. Roads and bridges have been improved under inspiration of the automobile.

In all essentials, Iceland is as independently self-governing as Ireland. There is a king, to be sure, the King of Denmark; but the political connection with Denmark exists only in his person. The Minister for Iceland appointed by him depends for his tenure upon the acceptance of the Althing. Any aggression on Denmark's part would stir a nest of hornets.

THIS summer, Iceland has been celebrating its millenium, the 1000th anniversary of the establishment of the Althing in 930 A.D. To Thingvallir, where it sat for 900 years, and the great rock whence they used to proclaim the laws to be memorized by the people and passed on by word of mouth—there are 20-odd newspapers now—the islanders flocked, from Barbastrandur, from the Westmann Islands, from Sadi Fjord and Horna Fjord under the great Vatna Glacier; from the perilous environs of menacing Mount Hecla, the active volcano which now and then breaks loose with terrible violence. To the population of something like 103,000 in normal times was added this year a large contingent of visitors, largely from the United States and Canada, whither there has been at times large immigration from Iceland. Swamping the resources of an unfailing hospitality, thousands had to be sheltered in tents, though the King lived in his own farmhouse—all the palace that he has in Iceland.

There was an official delegation commissioned by our Congress, including Senator Norbeck of North Dakota who delivered an address of greeting and congratulation to that oldest republic from this one of the newest. It were well to collect accounts of that celebration, for reference when some 850 years from now we come to signalize the thousandth anniversary of our own very young and still experimenting republic—hardly yet out of its cradle, from the Icelander's point of view.

Speaking of experiments, Iceland has something in the nature of prohibition. During the celebration the government forbade the sale of any kind of intoxicant, including even the wine ordinarily permitted; they were under no delusions on the subject of "light wines and beer." And they are of severe and rugged temper; they take seriously their law, and their Lutheran theology.

BELGIUM likewise is celebrating this year a period of independence even briefer than our own; beginning in that summer (July-August) of 1830 when the French kicked out the Bourbons once for all. The flame spread over the border into Flanders and the Flemish in Brussels set up their war-cry, "Imitons les Parisiens!" Then was made the division of territory between what are now Holland and Belgium; though it took twenty bloody years to stabilize the situation.

There is this great difference between Iceland and Belgium—whereas the island was indeed a stepping-stone for adventurous navigators across the North Atlantic, Belgium, like Palestine and Czechoslovakia, has been pavement over which the wars of the Old World have swept from time beyond estimate. In the nature of political geography it has been a cockpit. Like the dykes that protect Holland from the ever-menacing sea, its little period of neutrality, now virtually abandoned, defied the forces of political nature. It required the united sources of almost the whole world to rescue and restore its blood-soaked soil to independence and the ownership of its own people. There is a concern beyond its own borders in the celebration of its first hundred years of precarious autonomy.

WHAT the Simon Report (further discussed elsewhere in this issue) essays to offer to India is not only a minimum, but is only on paper. Nobody, not even the British Government, has accepted it. Ten years ago, or even less, it might have sufficed to give a semblance of (*Continued on page* 406)

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Letters & Life

In which books, plays and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

Sick of Asking

THE UNREALISTS, *by Harvey Wickham. Dial Press. 314 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE REVOLT AGAINST DUALISM, *by Arthur O. Lovejoy. Norton. 325 pp. Price $4 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE CRITIQUE OF HUMANISM, *A Symposium, edited by C. Hartley Grattan. Brewer and Warren. 364 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
HUMANISM, A NEW RELIGION, *by Charles Francis Potter. Simon and Schuster. 133 pp. Price $1.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*
THE NEW HUMANISM, *by Leon Samson. Ives Washburn. 320 pp. Price $3 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

MAN is remaking himself in his own image. There is a rebellion on foot against the icy and unreal concept of he Universe that has been set up y part of Science, certain psychol-gists, and the mathematical meta-hysicians. The strangely assorted rebels call their cause, Hu-anism. Some are literary men, some are moralists, some are hilosophers; they quarrel mightily as to the road to take, but hey are all bound on one crusade—to reassert with a kind of lind, self-preservative instinct, the importance of man and nan's will, and so of human values in life. Some try to deny cience; some seek to master it for human ends; some seek efuge with God. But all want to reestablish the worth and ower of the human spirit. This is the most significant and excit-ng movement in life today. We need to know its creed and rogram to understand art, religion, and social change. There-fore, I have noted some of the sketch maps of parts of the bat-le in these books, not to review them, but to outline the prob-em.

We begin with the only three Ultimates we have—Nature, Man, God: and we name our deductions from them, Science, Humanism, Supernaturalism. Now roughly since William James men have been trying to get a neat unity in thought by denying any "inner duplicity" between objective and subjective, saying dualism was sloppy thinking, and deftly solving the puz-zle by declaring that man was just a phenomenon of Nature. That left them with the problem of consciousness about which we have had two generations of ingenious jugglery, often merely verbal, sometimes with extremely useful psychological by-prod-ucts. But it never answered the simple question: How does a pink cell know it is pink?

Meanwhile the mathematicians and the physicists by damnable logic, fine experiment, and neglect of human value, got Nature so divided up that reality became a set of point-events, the inter-section of world-lines. They abstracted altogether out of the universe the human categories of matter, time, cause. The pic-ture is, if I understand them, mere space of which disturbances (point-events) simply are. One set of Nature point-events is man's organism; and one other what remains of consciousness. The schools fit into that picture. The relativists think you can-not measure one set of point-events by another for you have no possible fixed or superior standard. The whole is a flux. The pragmatist says that the point-events, Man, sort of runs along with the point-events, Nature, till somehow he gets a notion of some sort of connection or direction that suits him—and that is Truth. The behaviorist is a set of verbal mechanisms (point-events) that registers (nobody knows where) that he is a set of point-events in the chain, willy-nilly. He has no soul, no authority, but somehow if the external point-events can be re-arranged he will be different. The symbolic logicians (lads too deep for me) appear to discover in the external point-events a kind of pattern of relations or forms that generates in our point-events a like pattern of apprehension so that we are not quite divorced from the outside, and can even think about things. All of which is very fasci-nating mental exercise, and through various of these concepts we have secured encouraging uses of Nature for our comfort and health.

At worst this is only mental diddling with Nature—and that lady takes care of herself. But what of the influence of such a metaphysics on art and morals? Both act in relation to an external world, with an assumption of free will. But for two decades we have had the self-denying schools such as naturism and expressionism. The first simply reports a set of point-events in society, as Dreiser does, without any judgment, and offers a picture of man the mechanistic animal, often very un-pleasant. Expressionism records the point-events inside men who just submit to the flux. The stream-of-consciousness novel is such a record of world flow in the author or his characters, with no selection for meaning, value, or purpose. In morals we have had a similar submission to Nature, with the exile of man's will, as in mechanistic pessimism, economic determinism, and generally in pragmatism. Now suddenly men realize that man is simply the victim of such a universe, sterile and static, for he discovers no standards of action. Science itself, based upon substance and measure, begins to verge on passive mad-ness, without either substance or measure. And it confesses to so many unknowns that its theorems need more faith than the dogmas of religion.

THE revolt against all this is Humanism. Its first need is to restore dualism, man's consciousness versus an external world, and with it the idea that man can find standards in him-self to measure, judge, and conquer the flux. Harvey Wickham focusses attention on the fantastic unrealism to which some of our late most eminent philosophers have attained. Something heroic attaches to this Happy Warrior, plumped with humor, who couches his lance in turn against such Goliaths as James, Bergson, Einstein, Russell, Dewey, and Whitehead. He sets this row of honorable gentlemen in the pillory of common-sense, and tickles their toes with jibes and quotations. We take a low delight in seeing them lambasted, perhaps out of human envy at their ability to breathe the rare airs we cannot, perhaps be-cause Wickham uses language we can understand, and often gorgeous language, gay with malice. I feel that he selects the chinks in their armor that can be easiest pierced, that he neg-lects their monumental achievements in the field of thought, and that his philosophical technique may make experts squirm. But it is a healthful thing to have a Puckish, skeptic intelligence like this abroad in the world; it is good to have a champion of man, faith, and God; it is vastly amusing to have some of the pom-

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pous paradoxes of James, Bertrand Russell, and Dewey paraded. This is a grand book. I hope you read it, if only to recall that the intellect can get us into regions so abstract that not even intelligence prospers there.

Lovejoy supports Wickham with the full battery of technical method. No philosopher can find fault with the weight, verbosity, or difficulty of his dialectic. He meets the realists with all the punctilio of the code duello of philosophy, and comes off with honor—at least with the conclusion that man and the natural world are equals. He side-steps the trap of pure idealism that makes consciousness everything. He lends the dignity and authority of a distinguished professional philosopher to the ideas being hammered out in warmer and vivider ways by the rebels. But it seems to me his harsh technique is out-moded in the present quarrel. Since the appeal for dualism rests finally on a kind of high personal common-sense, why all the trappings? Is it humanistic to use language indecently hard, or to accept typography that punishes the eyes? We welcome Professor Lovejoy but wish he wrote like realists James, Santayana, and Russell.

THE Critique of Humanism, a counter-blast to the official Humanists led by More and Babbitt, is itself strangely tinctured with humanism. These alert young critics, who are encouragingly keen and informed as no previous generation in These States, seem all busy defining some kind of humanism of their own. Being mostly artists they are willing to have their raw material, man, restored to dignity, and they are in a well-bred way fed up with sterile realism, but they are too inevitably disciplined in the scientific modes of their generation, to retreat into idealism. They challenge the Humanists (with capital H) on two grounds. First that they have nothing to offer as standards of dignity, decorum, and ethical value save the classics of other ages and a pseudo-Hellenism. This leaves More and Babbitt as the self-anointed pontiffs of values. Second, where are the creative exemplars of Humanism in the arts? These papers are shrewd and instructive, if of unequal value. You can profit by the scholarly analysis of classic origins by Edmund Wilson; the scrutiny of Humanist principles by Allen Tate; the study of Humanism in Europe by Kenneth Burke; and Lewis Mumford's endeavor at a reconciliation that preserves man and uses science. That reconciliation is the keynote of the volume. But one is tempted to ask where are the creative artists on this side of the quarrel? When are we to expect the giant soul that will present this reconciled universe to us in terms of beauty?

Religion is what may be called the menace to Humanism: indeed it looks as if Humanism were just an express stop on the road to Rome. Some Humanists have already made the natural step into the Church. But Humanism, the new religion, defined by Dr. Charles Potter, is not the authoritarian kind. He postulates dualism, and free will; but he is agnostic as to God, skeptical as to immortality though willing to study psychics, and finds his revelations in the spirit of man. He wants nothing supernatural except, I think, a supernatural Man. His faith is in "the supreme value and self-perfectibility of human personality." But he needs "a phenomenal world of matter through which the self shall make its path, self-recognition, self-direction, and self-giving." But he gets confused in finding material for human willing and denies the existence of any realm outside of cause and effect. So despite his apotheosis of the race, it seems he unconsciously goes back to the arms of Science. His religion amounts to a rejection of its monism, but the acceptance of all its practical benefits that may ameliorate the evils of life. The points of his creed seem to be a list that any liberal social-worker may endorse . . . and seek elsewhere for a religion. This new religion is not new and it is not enough. How is man going to set his goals? by what criteria of truth, beauty, and goodness can he pursue perfectibility? Here he seems still to let Nature rule him despite his declara tion of independence. And John Dewey is still the Pope c this church.

Scratch any brand of humanist and you will find a critic, devotee of disputation. I wonder if the Spenglerian shadow doe not lie over all such arguments about it and about? Is this seem ingly vigorous discussion the true prolegomena to creation in tha it restores our autonomy and offers a self that can *act* upo something that is not self either to make a better self, or a bette something? Or is all the talk about art and morals a proo that we are in Spengler's age of sterile intellect and logic wher we achieve neither beauty nor deed? Lon Samson looks like case in point: he seems universally skeptical, with rather il tempered attacks on pragmatism, behaviorism, Spenglerism, ecc nomic reform, et al. I cannot see what he *believes* though h is plainly on the side of Man for he defines "Truth as relatio social relation," and looks forward to a glorious society, free c economic pressure, that must be Dr. Potter's heaven on earth c perfected men. I judge Samson is an anarchist—and they de light in pillar-pulling. But of these disputants on art, Samso has the most enlightening view—and one that should make th capital Humanists sit up and take notice.

> Art being a function of property will disappear. . . . Let th people play and the artist disappears. Let the people ripe wit laughter, walk abroad, beautiful, happy, and free, and the painte will throw away his brush and join the procession. . . . It is onl the intellectual and emotional illiteracy of the average run of men the infantile credulity with which he looks to the novelist, for ex ample, to give him an insight into the life about him, that make the novelist at all possible. . . . Once happiness, having ceased t be a hope and a pursuit, becomes a realized routine and holds th world in sweet, intoxicating tensions, humanity will hardly have time to read the record of its unrecordable delights.

That is visionary; but even now if you go to the life of people and not to the doctors, you can find signs. In our sports in our use of music, in our sun-bathing and return to nature we are seeking for a kind of direct communion with reality that needs no interpreter in words. The art of living may replace the life of art; if so, we give both Spengler and the Humanists a miss. Let us hope so. And meanwhile we seem to see stars and we seem to think, and can reverence the austere source of both the stars and the thoughts. LEON WHIPPLE

We Are All Very Young

ADOLESCENCE, *Studies in Mental Hygiene, by Frankwood E. Williams, M.D. Farrar & Rinehart, Inc. 279 pp. Price* $2.50 *postpaid of The Survey.*

FOR eight years Frankwood Williams has been the chief spokesman for organized mental hygiene. There are good reasons for this aside from the fact that he is Director of the National Committee. He is a man of a high degree of intelligence, as every line of his book clearly indicates. He has had very competent training and experience in psychiatry. He is keenly aware of what might be called the crucial problems of mental hygiene. He knows precisely where the thickest fighting is likely to occur and he is right there in person. And finally, Dr. Williams has a gift of extraordinarily clear writing. He says what he means to say with a minimum of wasted effort, superfluous words, and professional jargon. What he says, therefore, is understandable, authoritative, and convincing.

This is a collection of essays on the mental hygiene of youth. The thesis throughout is that none of us really achieve mental adulthood. "There are no adults," quotes the blurb. We do not fully achieve this adult mental life, he says, and we would be much happier and more efficient if we did. We are kept from doing so largely by unconscious mechanisms, many of which are the direct result of parental attitudes and parental behavior. "Parents sometimes are dangerous things" who really don't want us to grow up. But they and we must be educated toward this ideal of mature independence. This can be

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ccomplished to a considerable extent by applying science to the nderstanding of behavior, to the training of children, to the olution of maladjustments in various fields such as college and ourtroom and finally by seeking on the part of the community more enlightened attitude toward, and a more intelligent disposition of, the various kinds of human failure.

Anything Dr. Williams writes is worth reading; anything he rites is agreeable reading, informative reading, stimulating eading. I wish he had had more time and could have organed these eleven essays into a better synthetic whole. Were he ot burdened by the enormous responsibilities and duties of his fficial position, he could, I am sure, have written a modern assic on Adolescence from the scientific point of view. As it , he will have opened the eyes of many and delighted the hearts f more.

KARL A. MENNINGER, M.D.

he Menninger Clinic, Topeka

Mankind Inc.

OURSELF INC," by Adolph Elwyn. Brentano's. 319 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.

STRUCTURE and function, work, beauty, and emotion, origin, development and future. Here we have the scientist, ne medical historian, turned story teller, keeping the accuracy nd completeness of the terms of the text-books without sacricing the romance, poetry and imagination which are inherent n any true tale of human beings. Dr. Elwyn has given us a ale of our human cosmopolis that speaks in a language which ll but the least informed can understand. How happy would e the lot of physician, health officer, nurse, if all and sundry eople whom they meet and serve knew the physical make-up, he duties, and privileges of their body systems and tissues. The rofessions could all profit and get enjoyment from their incororated human-being here presented, and the skilled mechanics f motors and factories will find themselves at home among he forces and resultant products of man's peripatetic laboratory nd power plant. We welcome this further gift of science to he art and entertainment of living.

New York City

HAVEN EMERSON, M.D.

Trotsky on Trotsky

MY LIFE, by Leon Trotsky. Scribners. 597 pp. Price $5.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.

I MUST confess several distinct disappointments in this attempt at an autobiography. It is laborious reading; there is nuch too much of unimportant detail. There is no humor, unless failed to recognize it. There is no simple and orderly statement f the author's principles. There is over-much bitterness of ll sorts, even for a book by a life-long revolutionary. There s, first to last, a staggering amount of self-adulation. The book ings with denunciation of Stalin; so much so that one emerges t last with the idea that Stalin must have been a pretty fair ort of chap, after all. And there is a wholesale denunciation f all who disagree with the author. He lumps them all toether and calls them epigones. There really is such a word, and t signifies a particularly low variety of literary degenerate. Most reviewers of this book will be epigones; most readers also.

And yet the book deserves careful reading and some praise. For it is the record of a man who has known few periods of ersonal safety and comfort; who has been schooled in prison nd exile; who has held himself to rigid principles, and who as suffered on that account. Beginning with the story of his oyhood under czarist Russian peasant conditions, the book pens with a protest against the injustices of the age. This rotest never dies. On the contrary, it deepens and swells to the lin of revolution; and the book closes with a cry of agony at he long delay in the long-sought world revolution. The agony f the book is all the more acute because the author has tried o conceal it.

The high points of interest are the accounts of Trotsky's association with Lenin; of the Bolshevik-Menshevik split; of the 1905 revolution; and, of course, the revolution of 1917. The latter part of the volume, which could have been an enlightening survey of political movements since 1917, is all too often allowed to slump into a mere polemic against the author's antagonists.

CHARLES STAFFORD BROWN

Colorado Springs

The Greek Way and Ours

THE GREEK WAY, *by Edith Hamilton. Norton. 247 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

IN our strenuous and utilitarian age few students master ancient Greek or read the Greek masterpieces in the original. But the greater pity is that even the best translations of those masterpieces are closed books to hosts of intelligent boys and girls, men and women of our time. Miss Edith Hamilton, former head of a school for girls has written a book so delightful, and so illuminating and informing that if widely read, as it deserves to be, it surely will send thousands of eager and curious persons to the letters, art, science and philosophy of ancient Greece. And they will be richly rewarded.

The work of Miss Hamilton is a product of lifelong study inspired by love. She is enthusiastic and eloquent in her appreciations of Greek genius and Greek spirit. She essays not to explain the miracle that was Greece for a hundred years or so but to interpret it, to show just wherein the Greek way of thinking and of living differs from that of the middle ages or of that of our own somewhat confused period.

Her method is to indicate first the intellectual and spiritual traits of the Greeks, to compare them with other great races, and then to evaluate their contributions to human civilization and progress in poetry, in tragedy, in comedy, in sculpture and architecture, and in philosophy and ethics.

With the Greeks the rule of reason began, said Miss Hamilton. All science goes back to them. They were free to think, and the punishment of Socrates was exceptional. Great mind and great spirit combined in the Greeks. They were distinguished by delight in the use of the body as well as of the mind. They rejoiced in life and found the world beautiful and splendid. They created an art which was at once plain and intellectual, realistic and spiritual. There was no excess of any sort in their art, and practically no symbolism. They loved beauty "with economy". They faced facts bravely and had no "vital lies". They were neither sentimental nor prudish. "In all Greek art," says Miss Hamilton, "there is an absence of struggle, a reconciling power, something of calm and serenity, the world has yet to see again."

The modern world cannot hope to return to the Greek way, Miss Hamilton recognizes, but we can learn much from the Greek thinkers, artists and statesmen. We can learn to hold the balance more evenly, to share our best with our fellow-men, to strive consciously for unity and for the development of human personality under conditions of freedom and justice. We can avoid many social evils by using our reason and getting rid of superstition and unfair privilege.

VICTOR S. YARROS

Elbow-room in the Blue Grass

THE GREAT MEADOW, *by Elizabeth Madox Roberts. The Viking Press. 338 pp. Price $2.50 of Survey Graphic.*

WHEN the petty trials of city noise, dirt and confusion seem vexatious beyond endurance, it is like a sunrise view from a mountain-top to go back with Miss Roberts' story to the Virginia of Revolutionary days. There the guns of Lexington and Concord were only a distant rumble; the vision that beckoned beyond the blue hills was the unknown country to the westward, from which came hunters' tales of Indians and dangers, but also of rich and beautiful lands awaiting the pioneers' axe and plow. The "great meadow" is Kentucky, a

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country of cane-lands, great trees and rivers and brightly-plumaged birds; and Miss Roberts' story is of the people who followed Boone's Trail over the mountains, and finally through the gap in its great white cliff to the struggling forts beyond. Boone himself appears in the narrative, the Boone who said "elbow-room is what a man wants," and added, "I never was lost. I was bewildered right bad once for as much as a week, but not lost. I never felt lost the whole enduren time."

Miss Roberts' rhythmic prose tells the story of Diony Hall and Berk, her young husband, as they set out from the rude but gracious security of Virginia, and on through the hard first years in Harrod's Fort, when Berk was captured by the Indians and carried prisoner to Michigan, and Diony, believing him dead, after two winters married another and had to make the hard choice of Enoch Arden's wife. Without glossing over the hardships and privations, the book is keyed to the heroic mood of men and women who must be unfailing in their courage if they would survive. Here is history become poetry, lit with the high hopes and sustained by the simple endurance that made the conquest of the wilderness possible. MARY ROSS

Savages Are Not Simple

PEOPLE OF THE SMALL ARROW, *by J. H. Driberg. Payson and Clarke. 338 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.*

THE anthropological way of painting the lily is to over-simplify the primitive. Most anthropologists do. The success of these little epics of the Didinga depends primarily on the fact that Mr. Driberg does not. As a result we have from this folk Decameron of a tribe of East African cattle-herders, more of the true flavor of the primitive mind than from a half dozen typical anthropological treatises. We learn, with great interest and considerable relief, how complex and sophisticated the African mind really is, and how an outwardly simple life can be inwardly complicated with irony, guile, romance and tragedy. Perhaps gradually we are approaching a completely new view of primitive mentality. Since Tom-Tom who can doubt the fatalism and disillusionment of the primitive view of life? With Gide have we not tasted the subtle deceptive irony and sophistication of the African? More recently, has not Londres' A Very Naked People shown us the tolerance beneath the surface of savage indifference and the passion of revolt under the mask of convention? From authentic and intimate knowledge of his former colonial charges, Driberg discovers these things and more—and reveals what is rarely seen, the emotional motives of primitive thought and action, the temperament of true human characterization. For savages that are really human, give us Mr. Driberg's. ALAIN LOCKE

Howard University

Concerning the Food Law

A READER calls our attention to a misleading statement in Upton Sinclair's review of The History of a Crime Against the Food Law, by Harvey W. Wiley, M.D. (Survey Graphic, June 1930, page 238). The passage referred to is " . . . they got Congress to refuse appropriations for the Bureau of Chemistry—which, of course, means that the law cannot be enforced. The result is that the Food and Drugs Act is a dead letter. . . ." What occurred was that the Bureau of the Budget did away with the Bureau of Chemistry by discontinuing its appropriations and giving them instead to a new Food, Drug, and Insecticide Administration which took over the enforcement of the Food and Drugs Act. The remnant of the Bureau of Chemistry was combined with the Bureau of Soils. In his book Dr. Wiley contended that the purpose of this change was to weaken the enforcement of the law, and that the precedure by which it was carried out was illegal as it grafted creative legislation on an appropriation bill. Mr. Sinclair submitted his review to Dr. Wiley before its publication, but in the ill health which preceded his death on Ju 30, Dr. Wiley failed to make the correction.

Dr. Wiley's death ends the long career of a fighting pione in the public health field. For thirty years as chemist in t Department of Agriculture he worked almost alone for t passage and enforcement of the Food and Drugs Act, and 1912 became director of the Bureau of Foods, Sanitation, a Health of Good Housekeeping magazine where he continu as guardian of the public food. His unremitting struggle f pure food, honestly and accurately labelled, has been effecti not only in obtaining legislation which he sponsored, but al in the education of public and manufacturers alike.

FOCI OF LIBERTY

(*Continued from page 402*)

definite peace to that awakening country—or, rather th heterogeneous congeries of countries, races, sects and caste So would a good-faith compliance with the previous Montagu recommendations. But British imperialism and commercia selfishness are as usual fishing behind the net. Even yet, a honest effort on the part of Great Britain might turn the tid of revolt and save India for the British Commonwealth o Nations. The conditions on either side hardly promise such sane procedure. Commercial imperialism "learns nothing an forgets nothing," except through the pocket-nerve, if even s In our own country the movement for Philippine independenc has its latest invigoration from those who want for their ow benefit to build the tariff wall against Philippine industry. We the British to see in it economic advantage, India would get he independence overnight.

AGAINST all the logic of political history, economic force are working to unite Europe, despite all the ancien chaotic jealousies and traditional animosities. That is wha gives vigor to Mr. Briand's scheme for a European union, an the Coudenove-Kalergi project of "the United States o Europe." All pious declarations to the contrary notwitl standing, the essential impulse is to meet the American tari attack by leveling the international barriers that now divid Europe into an economic helter-skelter. An almost unobserv factor is and still more will be the development of the networ of electric power-lines, which disdainfully ignore the politic divisions. Dr. Conrad Matschoss, director of the Society o German Engineers, just now points out that while less than tw per cent of the power produced in Europe is exported acros international boundaries, that condition will rapidly diminis "Europe will be united," he says, "not so much by any league o nations as by the interpenetration of commercial interests i which the exchange of electric power will play an importan part." More potent against war than any military defense wil be the ability to cripple an adversary by the mere throwing o a switch.

Significance of this politico-economic sort underlies the a nounced willingness of even Italy to discuss the Briand scheme By our latest exuberance of absurdity, in creating a tariff whic has no friends even among its makers, we have done more t scare Europe into united action against us than a hundred yea of propaganda could have accomplished. Italy affects to be bot ambitious and able to stand alone; but the world-wide economi depression conduces to reflection; her present masters know we enough that all that stuff is nonsense. They exhibit somethin of the prudence of the dying Irishman, who called upon b his confessor to "renounce the Devil and all his works, plaintively protested:

"It seems to me this is a poor time f'r me to be makin' ne enemies!"

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THREE CENTURIES AFTER PENN

(*Continued from page* 398)

his project, also insuring a uture water supply, is giving consideration to a park yard-tick of ten to twenty acres f open space per thousand opulation, accessibly located nd coordinated with transportation and water supply facilities.

In the field of aviation, as well, the Federation has already orked out a comprehensive program, publishing its aviation tudy in advance of the regional plan of which it will be a part, ecause of the urgency of the airport problem. Following survey of the greater air region, including existing airports and airways with Philadelphia-Camden as the central point and extending north and south to include New York and Washington and east and west from Atlantic City to Harrisburg, the aviation committee analyzed the information obtained in pecial relation to the requirements of the smaller and more omogeneous tri-state region. On the basis of the data obtained, thirty airports for diversified uses, coordinated with a principal air, rail, and marine terminal at Hog Island—the war-time ship yard which the United States Shipping Board recently sold o the city of Philadelphia—are suggested for the district. Although no recommendations are made as to exact location of these airports, the specific localities where it appears a need for aerial ground facilities will exist, have been selected. Furthermore, a half dozen new airways connecting the Tri-State District with Atlantic City, Bethlehem, Scranton, Syracuse, Buffalo, and the coastal cities of the South, are suggested.

Stressing "extraordinary increase in aviation activity in the last few years," the aviation study declares there has been

> an almost total absence of coordinated planning for regional development. Individual growth there has been, and it has been most encouraging and helpful to the industry; but there needs to be a comprehensive viewing of the requirements of each town in relation to its neighbors, so that an entire district may develop as an homogeneous movement, with each of its parts complementing the others and with its aerial plan logically related to highways, railways, parks, and other major factors of transportation and economic life.

At the present writing it is not possible to give details of all phases of the regional plan for the tri-state district. In its present form the Plan is in a preliminary state—for the simple reason that until every recommendation has received the approval of local officials throughout the district, there will be no definite plan offered to the public. In fact, in the opinion of officials of the Federation, its greatest strength lies in this very lack of a *definite* and *complete* plan after two long years of activity by a competent staff of engineers, city planners, recreation experts, et al., together with the cooperation of eminent international authorities. Interview any important official of the Tri-State Regional Planning Federation, and he will "boast" to you that thus far the plan is an embryo only—lusty embryo though it certainly is. And here it is that one strikes at the core of the Philadelphia Plan—the planning philosophy on which it is reared. Although regional planning is not new in the United States, by its approach to the problem, the tri-state region has to its credit at least the creation of new technique.

A bit of past history will explain. Before actually undertaking to formulate a plan for the region, the powers-that-be wisely decided to study the policies in regional planning already pursued elsewhere, here and abroad. Official and unofficial agencies were considered. In the Philadelphia region it was agreed an non-official organization would be most effective. Two outstanding examples in the United States of non-official agencies existed—the Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs, supported by the Russell Sage Foundation, and the Regional Planning Association of Chicago, supported from private and business membership fees and subscription. Each represented a distinctive and contrasting method of operation. Which should the Philadelphia region take as a model? After analyzing both, it was decided to follow neither in toto, but rather to steer a middle course. And here the Philadelphia Federation is making its unique contribution to the practice of regional planning.

In the early days of the tri-state regional planning organization it was felt that unless the plan was the plan of the officials of the political subdivisions and the people of the entire region there was little likelihood of its being adopted. Therefore, it was determined not to carry out the policy adopted in New York—to gather all the necessary data and have the plan made by professional planners, presenting it after completion to the region and urging its adoption. On the other hand, the quite reverse plan of Chicago was not considered adaptable to the region's needs; a plan whereby the organization does not of its own initiative prepare any plans, but acts only upon request of official agencies in individual cases. No comprehensive plan is prepared by any central agency. In Philadelphia's opinion, this would result in detached planning projects which might not fit in with a coordinated plan.

Briefly, then, the Philadelphia policy consists in the preparation of a preliminary plan, prepared by the professional planners, the technical staff of the Federation, and consultants, in collaboration with the Technical Advisory Committee made up of officials representative of the entire region; suggestions made by individuals, officials, and organizations throughout the length and breadth of the district are given due and careful consideration and, when appropriate, incorporated in the plan. Only after the preliminary plan has weathered the criticism and been accepted by representatives of the whole region, will there be a final plan.[1]

FOR purposes of planning, the Philadelphia region is divided into five districts; district vice-presidents guide the public relations policy in their respective districts, organizing them from the business, social and economic standpoint. Individuals and officials are requested to bring their suggestions to headquarters. To visualize all such suggestions, a large wall map of the district is set up covering one side of the large library, and on this map every suggestion is recorded by means of a colored pin. Thus each can be studied in its relation to all the others. And who so devoid of ego that he would not be pleased to find on visiting headquarters, his contribution has thus received "official" recognition.

Field secretaries from headquarters work with the district organization, to keep the people informed of the regional plan activities, and to encourage planning suggestions from the districts and localities themselves, making the necessary contacts to insure the inclusion of the best thoughts of the citizenship throughout the district. The field secretaries visit the chief engineers and engineering officials, mayors, county commissioners, civic and improvement associations, attempting not only to interpret the plan to them but to keep their ears to the ground for possible criticism and ideas. Not even the school children are left out. Appreciating that the child is the citizen of the future upon whom the execution of the plan will ultimately rest, simple talks are made to classes in highschools and questions and discussion encouraged.

An indication of how the Regional Plan literally is being made by the people of the Tri-State Region, the following statistics are significant. During recent months, 321 planning proposals have been made by citizens, civic leaders, improvement associations, and others throughout the region. Of this number, 142 or 44 per cent have been included in the Preliminary Plan. Ninety-seven or 30 per cent of the total proposals will be given consideration in the studies made between now and the first of the year. Only 82 of the total number of proposals are ineligible for the Preliminary Plan, because they consist of routine public improvements which are not regional in character. The planning proposals that have been made range all the way from bridges, highways, and neighborhood parks, to canals and joint sewage disposal systems for two or three municipalities.

It is in the matter of highways that the Federation has per-

[1] Without questioning the wisdom of the Philadelphia program for the Tri-State Region, in justice to New York and Chicago it should perhaps be pointed out that the three situations are not entirely analogous. The technique followed by Chicago is a natural evolution in the city where modern city planning had its inception, while it is probable that the huge and more unwieldy New York region needs a super-authority, so to speak, at least to launch the plan. Perhaps each technique is best adapted to each set of conditions. No doubt each can learn much from the others. Philadelphia planners tell us that while pursuing their own policy, they drew freely on the experience of their distinguished contemporaries.

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haps been most successful in promoting cooperation among groups throughout the district. For at the invitation of the Federation, the highway officials of the three states recently sat around a table in the Federation's office to discuss their common problems. Most valuable has been the outcome of this conference on "neutral" territory. For some time negotiations have been under way between the highway department of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware to put certain pressing recommendations made by the Federation, into effect. In June, 1929, Governor Fisher authorized the secretary of the Pennsylvania highway department to make studies and survey of the proposed industrial highway from Trenton to Wilmington (route number 6) and the proposed beltline or by-pass highways (routes 1 and 2 already referred to). For about eight months the Pennsylvania highway department has had a survey corps on this work. Several months ago Mr. Stuart, secretary of the Pennsylvania commission, urged the advisability of conferences with the Maryland, Delaware, and New Jersey commissions. As a result of which conference, various locations are now being carefully considered, prior to determining the exact location of the proposed highways.

Cooperation is indeed the watchword of the Federation, as another incident will testify. Recently a borough council in the region near Philadelphia, announced plans for a forty-foot boulevard along a creek valley. But the borough council's plan involved the acquisition and preservation of one bank of the creek only. Almost immediately the landowners whose property was to be acquired, were up in arms. At once a delegation appeared at the offices of the Regional Planning Federation. A meeting was arranged between the members thereof and the standing committee on Parks and Open Spaces of the Federation. There was general agreement that it would be shortsighted to park but one side of the creek, leaving the other side open to unrestricted row-house development. Forthwith the executive director of the Federation got in touch with the engineer who had prepared the plan for the borough council, together with a group of landowners and members of the Park Committee. A survey of the entire creek valley was made. As a direct result of the survey, it was found practical to park both banks of the creek and landowners are now cooperating in dedicating a portion of their land to insure that the banks of the creek will be preserved on both sides.

THIS has been the crucial year for the Tri-State Plan. Recently, early in March, photostatic copies of a map measuring sixteen by twenty feet marked with suggestions for improvements and developments for the four thousand square miles of the district, have been sent to the engineering departments of the 360 communities, with the request that the officials of these municipalities study their own community needs and problems in the light of the region's needs and problems, and report back to the central office. Local suggestions and criticism will then be circulated throughout the district, and the tentative plan now nearing completion will be revised. Early in January 1931 the preliminary plan will probably be corrected and amended according to the objections and criticisms of its official critics. After which the final map will be made and distributed. Then will come the last step as far as the acceptance of the plan is concerned. Engineers and officials of the various municipalities will ask their respective legislative authorities to adopt the plan in principle.

The complete plan for the guidance of the future physical growth of the region will include: a suggested system of major and secondary highways, boulevards, and bridges; a suggested system of parks, parkways, and other public reservations; a study of railway, passenger, and freight transportation; a study of waterways and ports; a study of sanitation, drainage, and water supply necessities; a suggested system of airways and landing fields; and trends of the distribution of population.

A big order and one that cannot be put into effect except over a period of many years. No doubt many of the recommendations, though accepted in theory, will never be executed. In fact, William H. Connel, executive director of the Federation points out, in the last analysis the plan will never be final, inasmuch as in all probability it (*Continued on page* 410)

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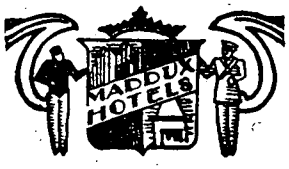

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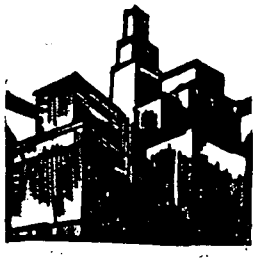

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A Rare Adventurer

NOT excerpts from a travel book, but from letters to his mother by a youth who was doing Britain on a bicycle:

Buchanan's Commercial Temperance Hotel, Edinburgh, Aug. 5.

This is exactly where we are. Another name for the place is Teetotal Coffee and Reading Rooms, which can be read in mammoth gilt letters on the outside of this our new home. You would think that crowds would line up on the sidewalks and stare at such a quaint designation; but the fact is that Scotland is filled with just such inexpensive and moral inns. A bed and breakfast cost us 2/6 (60 cents). Our other meals we hunt up in odd quarters of the town, sometimes sitting down to viands that are clearly impossible even to youths that are doing Great Britain in a flannel shirt. Thus a beefsteak pie of the other evening was an adventure not to be achieved, though we were cruel hungry. . . .

We wheeled the forty miles from Glasgow to Stirling on Thursday, laughing away the occasional flurries of rain with rubber coats. Our clothes to the veriest detail are packed in a bicycle frame, and there they ride between our knees. Traveling on such a basis is grand practice, and it is genuine amusement. . . . Every word we speak is greeted with laughter or a "what will you be saying." We have to translate ourselves. I rushed to a baggage car and begged the porter for our "two wheels." He handed me out a sewing machine.

When I was atop of Mt. Washington I put my foot on a cloud, and here in Edinburgh it is possible to tread upon history. A heart-shaped arrangement of bricks in the pavement marks the site of the Old Tolbooth Prison, the Heart of Midlothian. Again to the south of St. Giles, is a bronze tablet sunk in the cobblestone, reading J. K. 1563, which is to say that here lies John Knox dead in such a year. So it is no wonder that when we spied a second bronze tablet, only five feet from the grave of Knox, we tiptoed over and held our breath for another historical treat. It was in the nature of a disappointment to spell out Hydraulic Water Works.

Aug. 12—Sunday evening. York.

. . . The landscape is a mixture of the Rangely Lakes and the White Hills. It is soft and lovely and I am sure that nothing morbid nor abnormal in the matter of religion can come from Keswick. We hastened on to Grasmere—home and resting-place of Wadsworth—and I shall never forget the town; for it was here on the main street that I ripped my right trouser leg into an unseemly gash all down the knee. I made haste into the store of a lady stationer, who blushed and gave me a safety-pin.

The youth was Arthur Gleason and the year 1900; but as anyone can see by the bevy of bicyclists on the English roads, such a journey is as fresh and arresting today as when he took it, to one who is sensitive to everyday wonders of the world and to the great adventure of living. Or as he put it, in The Book of Arthur Gleason* from which these passages are taken:

All social gain of hours and wages will only be good as they free human beings for the sun and the air, the soil and the water. The social movement can have no other goal than into the outdoors. I have never known man or woman, loving the outdoors, who did not have a something of distinction. Nature is the beginning and the end of religion, for all beauty is here.

NEEDLESS to say, if and when you decided on a holiday in Great Britain, it will greatly enhance the trip to go forearmed with a knowledge of its many possibilities. A pleasant short-cut is through E. M. Newman's Seeing England and Scotland. Funk & Wagnalls Co. 409 pp. Price $5.00 postpaid of Survey Graphic.

* THE BOOK OF ARTHUR GLEASON, by Helen Hayes Gleason. William Morrow & Co. 235 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of Survey Graphic.

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(*Continued from page* 408) will be modified at intervals or enlarged to keep pace with changing conditions. But that is not the vital question today. At the moment what counts most is that in less than a year the Philadelphia Tri-State Region will have a well-conceived, carefully worked out, comprehensive plan, a guide for its future growth and development. No longer will there be an excuse for a single political unit among the six-hundred-odd communities—no matter how small or insignificant the community nor how large, important, or over-crowded the metropolis—to plan for a local improvement that does not fit in harmoniously and effectively with plans for the region as a whole. No longer will there be any excuse for misguided or ill-guided growth of the region on the ground that expert guidance is not available. And finally, and perhaps of greatest significance to the country at large, is the fact that the Tri-State Plan will forge a strong link in regional planning in the United States. Together with the New York and Washington plans already completed, which it touches at either end, it will provide a coordinated program and guide for future growth for a huge slice of the eastern United States.

ASPECTS OF THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT

(*Continued from page* 387)

on the entire business of the country, including the responsible positions in banking as well as commerce, and quite frankly use the vote to further these ends. Perhaps the women in France are the only women comparable to them, and although more than two million women are engaged in business in the United States—many of them as the heads of large concerns and most of them carrying on successfully—it is only in variety of occupation that they surpass Burmese women.

Votes for women came at last, not only in the United States but in other countries as well, the result, it seemed, of war psychology. It is difficult to realize how very suddenly the change in status took place. I was in Vienna in 1913 when the venerable Madame Hainisch, representing the suffrage movement in Austria, invited me to attend a suffrage meeting. Because women in Austria were forbidden to belong to any political organization, the suffrage group always pretended that it was a literary society and began each meeting with a paper on some well-worn literary theme. I returned to Vienna eight years later to find, in 1921, more than twenty women sitting in the Municipal Council, twelve in the lower house of the National Parliament and five in the upper house. Madame Hainisch, the mother of the president of the new Republic, because she had always stood for an extension of the franchise, was eagerly honored as the leading citizen by these newly enfranchised men and women.

There was significance in the fact that the Victory Convention of the National American Women's Suffrage Association and the First National Congress of the League of Women Voters were held simultaneously in Chicago, in 1920. The latter organization, with its analogous societies in all the countries in which women are voting, represents an effort to make an intelligent and effective use of the franchise which had been at last secured. The League demonstrates that no newly enfranchised class, from the barons to the workingmen, has ever prepared itself more conscientiously for the exercise of its new power. How long it will be necessary to keep these separate organizations for women before they unite their efforts with those of men is a question each group must decide for itself. There is no doubt that some groups remain separated too long, but that is not always the fault of the women! It is rather singular that this separation is more complete in the United States than in any of the other countries.

During the decade of suffrage women have learned that ideas change less rapidly than events, with the result that much political thought is always out of date and inappropriate to changed conditions. Perhaps their most important duty is making this adjustment of the popular mind, and because they envisage the political situation afresh, they may enable the average citizen to escape from the deadening effects of worn-out conventional phrases which so largely dominate political life. When Jeannette Rankin interrupted the roll call in the House of Representatives on April 5th, 1917, to say: "I want to stand by my country—but I cannot vote for war," the feminist movement was supposed to have received a knockout blow. The patriots cried aloud that women would infect politics with pacifism, an alarm, however, which the situation in Congress twelve years later unfortunately proved unfounded. There were then eight women who were members of the lower house. They were said to "disagree on the tariff, prohibition and farm relief, but to be united on the issue of national defense," which is interpreted into more cruisers and higher appropriations for military purposes.

I am quite sure that women in politics thus far have been too conventional, too afraid to differ with the men, too unused to trust to their own judgment, too skeptical of the wisdom of the humble, to release the concern of simple women into the ordering of political life, too inclined to narrow their historic perspective to the experience of the formal woman's movement and thus unwittingly have restricted women's role in the racial development. On the whole I am quite inclined to agree with Chesterton when he wrote, "Many people have imagined that feminine politics would be merely pacifist or humanitarian or sentimental. The real danger of feminine politics is too much of a masculine policy."

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RUSSIA'S DRIVE TOWARD HEALTH

(*Continued from page* 389)

and visited all the health institutions of the town.

Buzuluk is a town of about 50,000 inhabitants, formerly a great grain center. Of course, during and after the famine, it was a center of misery, due to under feeding and malaria. It was necessary to feed doctors and nurses and put beds in hospitals and roofs over them, before doing medical work there. The town's medical budget, found locally as most public work support has been since N. E. P. began in 1921, is 600,000 roubles —approximately $300,000 a year. The health or medical work s housed in twelve separate buildings of simple wooden construction, similar to the homes of the community. There is not one children's home left, the children all having been placed with relatives or peasants to whom additional land has been granted, free of tax, until the child matures.

These are the institutions of health in Buzuluk: a tuberculosis sanitarium of twenty beds, with dispensary and visiting nurses (2); a general clinic; a maternity house with twenty beds; an X-ray machine, bought with balance of quinine left at the end of Quakers' malarial campaign and given the municipality by the Society of Friends; a surgical building; a building for the treatment of eye disease, with eight beds; a venereal disease building; a therapeutic building; a surgical building for infectious cases; a foundlings' reception house; a consultation for mothers and babies; a city clinic with medical, surgical and dental services; a midwife and malarial station. This categorical list gives some idea of the war against sanitary illiteracy in a rural community very far (thirty-six hours by fast train) from Moscow. There are about forty doctors in this small city, all of whom must give five hours a day to public institutions on a stated salary, and a very busy instructor—a medical woman—from the *gubernia,* Samara (the state capital). She is a member of the local board of health.

The Dom Maladetz, or house for little ones, as the foundlings' house is called, is a house that has recently been made over at a cost of about $1000. It has a milk kitchen, out of contact with the rest of the house, and its sleeping balconies. Babies are kept here only until homes can be found for them, or in case they need medical care. There is room for thirty-five babies and six mothers, whose milk is used for feeding the youngest. Thirty-five more babies who have been placed out in private homes, come back regularly twice a month to the consultation. A chart shows a falling death rate from 60 per cent in 1923 to 34 per cent in 1928. There are about eighty babies being fed from the milk kitchen daily. They pay two or three kopecs—a few cents—a day. The home owns its own cows.

THE consultation is waging war even more successfully on sanitary illiteracy. Here is another made-over building with glass partitions now installed in the reception room, where bunks are provided for waiting babies in clean, isolated little cells. Two doctors are constantly employed here in the examination and instruction of mothers and babies. There is home-visiting by nurses trained at Moscow in the department.

From Buzuluk, we proceeded to the Caucasus and thought it an interesting thing to look into the work for mothers and babies in a far-off republic like Georgia, a country politically always in hot water since the days of Caesar, and geographically inaccessible on account of the presence of the great peaks of the Caucasus mountains, with their passes closed for many months in the year. At Tiflis, the capital, we got into touch with the local office of the Department for Mothers and Babies.

Work in Georgia for the protection of mothers and babies began in 1921, when the republic was added to the Soviet system. We entered Russia via this republic in July of that year and were witnesses of the devastation caused by war, famine and pestilence, upon the population. Children were dying at dreadful rate in spite of all our endeavors and the resources of the great American public behind us. The department opened four day nurseries and four consultations the first year. There are now nine day nurseries (*Continued on page* 415)

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(*Continued from page* 411) and twenty-four consultations. The day nurseries are supported by eight towns and the railroad, and one is supported by the National Department. In 1926, mothers' consultations were added to the program, so that now there is one in every babies' consultation. Birth control is taught in these mothers' conferences. The children's homes, of which there are only two now, with one hundred inmates, have been turned over to the towns. In the fruit-growing and tea-raising districts, there are summer nurseries which remain open for four months only, while the women are busy with the harvest and canning. There is a kindergarten in Batoum which keeps children at night, as well as by day, during this busy season.

Rural Georgia is a most glorious mountain country. It has sixteen political divisions, like counties, and in each of these *ooyezds,* there is a mothers' and babies' clinic; in some there are two. These are staffed with women doctors and visiting nurses, as usual, but the nurses of rural New York or New York or New Jersey would be rather aghast if they saw some of these roads in Georgia. It was our experience they could be negotiated only on horse, and of course these nurses ride horseback in summer. That is, they ride the horse the easy parts of the way and drag him up after them on the difficult. In winter, the transportation is impossible and the two consultations in Swanetia, for example, can serve only those who can get to them.

We were interested to know how the money was found for this campaign in far Georgia. The budget is 57,000 roubles, or $28,500. Of this, we learned, $4500 came from the national department; also, the salary of an instructor or supervisor. $8000 comes from a tax on playing cards and so it seems providential, perhaps, that the Georgians are great card-players. The balance, more providentially still, has come from the sale of American old clothes, which a great American organization has sold to the government of Georgia, which, in turn, sells the old clothes at a profit and gives the profit to the government's departments for children's work.

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BOMBAY, MELTING POT OF MODERN INDIA

(*Continued from page* 378)

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